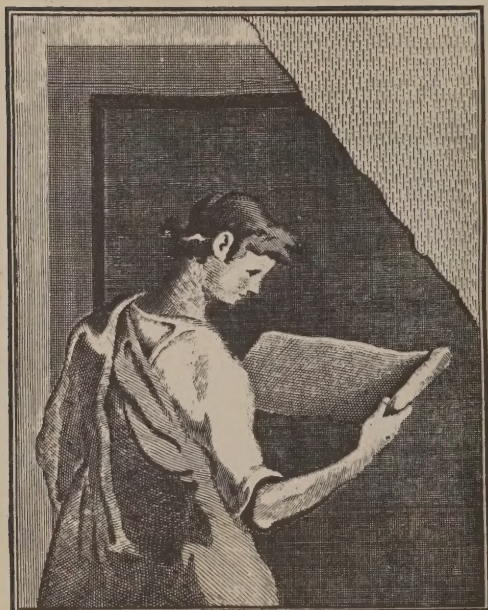




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THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

JANUARY, 1918.

RESTORATIONS AND EMENDATIONS IN LIVY VI.-X.

(Cf. *Classical Quarterly* IV. (1910), p. 267; V. p. 1.)

BOOK VI.

VI. 6. 8. In the year 386 B.C. a combination of dangers, especially the rumour of a Latin revolt, led the other Military Tribunes, on the advice of the Senate, to place the direction of affairs wholly in the hands of the aged Camillus, who happened, according to the tradition, to be one of their number. Camillus accepts the responsibility with modest diffidence, but promises to do his best:

ingens inde ait onus a populo Romano sibi, qui se dictatorem iam quartum creasset, magnum ab senatu talibus de se iudiciis eius ordinis, maximum tam honorato collegarum obsequio iniungi.

So read both Ver. and the Nicomacheans, save that the latter give less correctly *a senatu* (for *ab sen.*) and *honoratum* for *honorato*; and that the feeblest of them, Upsaliensis, being naturally puzzled by *eius ordinis*, substitutes (with the best intentions) *concordiis*, meaning no doubt *concordibus*!

Madvig rightly saw that *dictatorem* was a mistaken gloss, since Camillus had not been made dictator, and, if he had been, it would not have been the *populus* by whom he was so *creatus*. But the scribe of Upsaliensis felt, though he failed to remedy, the fatuity of *eius ordinis* immediately after *ab senatu*.¹ Karsten proposed to cut it out; and he is now strongly confirmed by the fact that the line in the Einsiedlensis which contains the words is some nine letters too long, and projects beyond its neighbours.

If *honorato*, the reading of Ver. in the last clause, is right, it must mean 'laden with compliments,' instead of the simpler *honorifico* (cf. 27. 10. 6 *senatus quam poterat honoratissimo decreto adlocutus eos*). But it is not quite clear why in the Nicomachean archetype this should have been changed to *honoratum*,

¹ We are greatly indebted to Professors J. P. Postgate and W. B. Anderson for many valuable comments on the proof of this paper. The

former would defend *eius ordinis* by the *id* and *eius* of 6. 34. 5, which, however, seem to us necessary in that sentence.

which was certainly its reading (*MPFU ρ BOEHTDLA*). A further point, and one in harmony with the modest tone in which Camillus is speaking, is gained if we follow Aldus and others in reading *honoratorium*, which might give rise to both the Veronese and the Nicomachean readings.

VI. 17. 2. The friends of M. Manlius Capitolinus in 385 B.C., agitating for his release from imprisonment, reproach the plebeians with suffering their champions to perish; Manlius will be done to death like Spurius Cassius or Spurius Maelius if he is not promptly rescued. These informal appeals to popular sentiment Livy represents, as he loves to do, in a lively passage of *Orat. Obliqua*, marked by concrete images and metaphors from the common life of the poor and the ethics of 'the bottom dog' (§ 3 'suppose he did lie; would you kill even a slave for a fib?'). Hence he here introduces many colloquial expressions: *destituatur* (§ 1) 'leave in the lurch'; *mersam fenore* (§ 2) 'drowned in debt'; *ad nutum respondere* (§ 3) 'be at the beck and call of'; *plenum sudoris ac sanguinis* (§ 4) 'soaked in sweat and blood.' Not observing this dramatic feature, or disliking it, our dainty commentators have stumbled at an obvious example in the use of the word *popularis* (§ 2 ad fin.), though it is in the sentence which contains the coarsest metaphor of the whole passage:

saginare plebem populares suos ut iugulentur (*MPFU ρ BOEHTDLA*).

Duker and Madvig, thinking only of the political meaning of the word, proposed to excise *suos* (Duker), *populares* (Madv.); others change *suos* to *uiros*, or to *uelut suos*; the last brilliant effort preserves at least the colloquial tone, though no palaeographical warrant is offered for inserting *uelut*. But in Latin of all periods *popularis* is used freely with the genitive of a person or *meus*, *tuus*, and the like to mean 'a citizen belonging to the same country,' and this is extended by Ovid and Pliny to animals and plants (*populares prunorum myxae*, *N.H.* 15. 13, § 43); Sallust, whose influence on Livy is well known (cf. e.g. our note on 10. 28. 9), uses it to mean 'partisans, body of adherents' (*sceleris, coniurationis*, *Cat.* 22. 1; 24. 1; 52. 14). There is a special point here in its use of those nobles who leave their own political party to act as champions of the plebs, 'their own adherents.' Manlius, pace Madvigii, could not be described as *suus*, i.e. *plebeius*; but he is *plebeiorum popularis*. The MSS. have written better Latin than their correctors.

VI. 18. 5-7. Quousque tandem ignorabitis uires uestras quas natura ne beluas quidem ignorare uoluit? Numerate saltem quot ipsi sitis, quot aduersarios habeatis. Si singuli singulos adgressuri essetis tamen acrius crederem uos pro libertate quam illos pro dominatione certaturos; quot enim clientes circa singulos fuistis patronos, tot nunc aduersus unum hostem eritis. Ostendite modo bellum; pacem habebitis. Videant uos paratos ad uim; ius ipsi remittent.

(Titus Manlius, who has been just released from prison, is inciting the plebeians to resist their oppressors, and insisting on the power they could exert if they act together.)

The only indication of trouble which the MSS. give is that *HTDLA* all omit the clause *si singuli singulos adgressuri essetis*, for which *DL* give the tell-tale *his*, which so often marks a lacuna (orig. *h.s.*, i.e. 'hic supplē') in the Nicomachean codices of Livy, as in others;¹ the words are restored by correctors in *TDA*. But the *enim* after *quot* is unintelligible: 'even if you were only just their match in numbers, you would fight better than they since you would be fighting for freedom, they for their powers of oppression; FOR you are many times their number.' Clearly 'but' is wanted, not 'for.' To meet this Madvig most cleverly writes *quoteni* instead of *quot enim*, Heerwagen *quot autem*, Mommsen merely *quot*, supposing an interpolator of quite exemplary idiocy. But even with Madvig's *quoteni* the sentence is abrupt, needing to be introduced at least by *nunc uero* and followed by *igitur*, and it is in the wrong place. The speaker begins by bidding them estimate their numbers—an advantage of which even the *beluae* are conscious; then he passes to the justice of their cause (*pro libertate*), a higher ground of confidence. Why should he separate this argument from the clauses prophesying its triumph (*ostendite . . . ius ipsi remittent*) by recurring to the numerical point, or separate the appeal to numbers from its justification?

The lacuna in *HTDLA* shows clearly what has happened. The sentence *quot enim . . . hostem eritis* belongs immediately after *quot aduersarios habeatis*; but, with the following clause *si singuli . . . essetis*, thanks to the homoeon (*habeatis essetis*), fell into the margin; it contains 107-109 letters,² i.e. just six lines of the normal length of the uncial column of the Veronensis (18 letters). It was then restored, but in the wrong place; and in the archetype of *HTDLA* in the course of the restoration it lost the last clause. Both these phenomena are frequent in the Nicomachean MSS. and elsewhere; see below for the first on 8. 8. 4. Other examples of partial restoration are to be found at 4. 2. 12 (*U ρ*); 4. 7. 6 (*O*); 3. 55. 3 (*H*); 8. 8. 4; 8. 30. 6; 9. 5. 10; 9. 24. 14; 9. 36. 11-12 (*O* and *T²*); 9. 46. 6; 10. 11. 3 (*F*); 10. 13. 13 (*P* and *F*); 10. 21. 3 (*U ρ*); *et sescenta alia*.

VI. 23. 3-6. [3] Id aegre patiebatur Romanus miles, multo aegrius alter ex tribunis militum L. Furius ferox cum aetate et ingenio tum multitudinis ex incertissimo sumentis animos spe inflatus. [4] Hic per se iam milites incitatos insuper instigabat elevando qua una poterat aetate auctoritatem collegae, iuuenibus bella data dictitans et cum corporibus uigere et deflorescere animos; [5] cunctatorem ex acerrimo bellatore factum, et qui adueniens castra urbesque primo impetu rapere sit solitus, eum residem intra uallum tempus terere, quid accessurum suis decessurumue hostium uiribus sperantem? [6] quam occasionem, quod tempus, quem insidiis instruentem locum? frigere ac torpere senis consilia.

So all the MSS. (Vorm. *MPFU ρ BOEHDTDL* and probably *A*, *v. inf.*), a serried array; but in three typical points modern editors prefer their own

¹ Walters, *Class. Rev.* XVII. (1903), p. 161; cf. our notes on 1. 39. 1 and 2. 1. 6.

² 107 if *enim* and *unum* were written ENĪ, VNŪ.

devices. The worst of these, the substitution of the tame and commonplace *capere* for the vigorous *rapere*, which is thoroughly Vergilian and Livian (cf. 30. 14. 2 and Drakenborch's excellent note here) but unlikely to have occurred to a scribe, has perhaps been anticipated by Agennensis¹ (though even there *rapere* seems the more likely reading), certainly by two or three of the dett. Gronov and Drak. both saw that *rapere* was right, but Luterbacher and Zingerle prefer milk and water.

Luterbacher again alters the first sentence by changing the place of *ferox* to follow *ingenio* without the faintest warrant in the MSS., nor suggesting any palaeographical excuse, simply because he thinks that *ferox* must be parallel to *inflatus*. But *inflatus* is plainly dependent, not parallel, and gives the second reason for the *ferocia*, i.e. the high-spirited obstinacy, of Lucius Furius; the first was personal, his age and temperament, the second was the encouragement he received from the temper of the people. In precisely the same way in 1. 25. 1 Livy wrote *feroces et suoapte ingenio et pleni adhortantium uocibus*; for further illustrations of the same fondness for making one epithetive depend upon another (and so often avoiding a subordinate clause) see 1. 14. 7 (*densa obsita uirgulta*) with our note, and add 10. 20. 8 and 10 (*infrequentia armatis signa egressa*, and *infrequentes armati* 'only a few of them armed'). The importance of understanding this idiom if we are to understand Livy is obvious.

In § 6 there is perhaps more excuse for Gronov's trouble, which arose from his not seeing that (as we believe) *instruentem* does not agree with *locum* but governs it, being parallel to *sperantem*. Gronov's emendation *instruendis* has been generally adopted; but the corruption of the obvious phrase *insidiis instruendis* into *ins. instruentem* does not seem very likely; whereas the slight zeugma, if it be one, in constructing *instruere* with *occasionem* and *tempus* appears to us quite natural in a brief summary of a series of scattered complaints. The word *instruentem* contains a sneer ('building up, toilsomely seeking') at Camillus' inactive policy, and so avoids a zeugma better than *parantem* would have done, to which Gronov must have thought it merely equivalent (cf. e.g. *opulentiis instructiusque* of celebrating Games 1. 35. 7).

But if anyone prefers to end the first question at *quod tempus*, so as to refer both that and the preceding accusative to *sperantem*, we do not demur, provided that he consents to translate with us the straightforward phrase *quem insidiis instruentem locum?* instead of writing a new one.

VI. 32. 6. ut nondum satis clara m uictoriam, sic prosperae spei pugnam imber ingentibus procellis fusus diremit.

So read *MPFU ρ BOEHTDLA*, with no hint of trouble. Any reader who remembers the Thucydidean λαμπρὰ ἥδη ἡ νίκη ἐγγεγνήτο (7. 55) will have all the more pleasure in Livy's pretty phrase for the 'bright sky' of victory, broken

¹ So, as Professor Souter has pointed out, the sources. ethnicon of *Agen* is spelt in the best mediaeval

by a mysterious¹ storm. But not Madvig; *clarus* is too lively for the schools of the nineteenth century. So schoolboys and other folk must all read the humdrum *certam*, and not dare to ask why any scribe should alter a phrase he had copied a hundred times into one with which he was only familiar in a different meaning ('famous').² Madvig was a prince among scholars, but his principedom was at times betrayed into somewhat despotic follies.

VI. 42. 13. *recusantibus id munus aedilibus plebis, conclamatum a patriciis est iuuenibus se id honoris deum immortalium causa libenter facturos, ut aediles fierent.* Quibus cum ab uniuersis gratiae actae essent, factum senatus consultum ut duo uiros aediles ex patribus dictator populum rogaret.

The three words in spaced type are really no less absurd, though less ungrammatical, than the *causa libenter facturos* three lines before this (in § 12), which, as Madvig points out, came into that section after *deum immortalium* by the simplest of errors (being anticipated from this section where they follow the same two words). In § 12 in *T* and *F* some early reader of each has underlined in red ink the words *deum . . . facturos*; in § 13 *D* has faithfully reproduced the puncts on either side of *ut aediles fierent* which came in with them from the margin; for other examples of such puncts see our note on 2. 32. 10 and *Class. Quart.* IV. (1910), p. 273; and on 8. 8. 4-7 below.

Considered as a gloss to *libenter* the words are perhaps a slightly cynical, but not a wholly unintelligent comment: considered (more simply) as a gloss to *rogaret*, they are an innocent explanation of the construction (*aediles populum rogaret*). But as a part of the text in the speech of the young patricians they make a ludicrous addition to *deum imm. causa*.

Book VII.

VII. 10. 13 (and X. 30. 9). *Inter carminum prope modum incondita quaedam militariter iaculantes Torquati cognomen auditum; celebratum deinde posteris etiam familiae honori fuit.*

For *prope modum* of the MSS. Madvig writes *prope in modum*, pointing out that the sense must be 'almost like (poetry),' which cannot be got out of *prope modum* save by supposing a quite unparalleled use of the phrase. We prefer *carminum prope modo* as a slightly simpler expression of the same meaning, and one likely to be corrupted into the familiar adverb *propemodum*.³ This however is a small point; our object here is to support Madvig's main contention, by pointing out that the word *incondita* had become practically a substantive, meaning 'impromptu verses, untrimmed epigrams.' In 4. 20. 2 Livy uses it as an epithet to *carmina* (cf. 4. 53. 11); but in 10. 30. 9 it appears as a substantive which itself takes an epithet (*celebrata inconditis militaribus uictoria*); so in Cic. *Orat.* 70. 233 *si alicuius inconditi adripias dissipatam aliquam*

¹ For *ingens* see *Cl. Rev.* XXVI. (1912), p. 255.

² Though any Lexicon will show that *clarus* is not rare as a stronger word to replace or augment *certus* (e.g. 22. 39. 22).

³ Professor Anderson would prefer to excise the two words as a gloss to *quaedam*, which seems to us unlikely.

sententiam eamque ordine uerborum paululum commutato in quadrum redigas, efficiatur aptum illud quod fuerit antea diffuens ac solutum (the example which follows from Gracchus seems to show that the reference is partly to ending with the rhythm of a proper clausula, partly to keeping the point of an epigram to the end). If anyone suggests that *inconditi* is an epithet to *alicuius*, we shall reply by asking how, in that case, he knows that that pronoun is neuter and not (according to the regular usage) masculine. So too Vergil, *Ecl.* 2. 4:

ibi haec in condita solus
montibus et siluis studio iactabat inani.

The reading we have quoted from 10. 30. 9 is that of *MPFU_pTDLA*, i.e. all the better MSS. of that part of the Book; one of the dett. followed by the early editors adds *carminibus*, and Zingerle *uersibus*, both producing a cumbrous phrase pardonable in the fifteenth century, less so in the nineteenth. Were there no dictionaries at Innsbruck in 1890?

VII. 12. 5. (The Tiburtines make a sudden attack by night on Rome, but they find all snug and are easily routed next morning.)

Quin etiam bono fuisse Romanis aduentum eorum constabat (because the alarm put an end to civil strife). Alius aduentus hostium fuit proximo bello agris quam terribilior urbi.

So *MPFU_pBOHTDLA* write the second sentence, though *O* and *D* put a punct before *proximo* (cf. p. 5 sup. on 6. 42. 13) and begin it with a capital letter, confirming Madvig's rejection of *proximo bello* as a gloss to explain *terribilior* ('than the last war'), for a comment from the margin often comes into the text still wearing the capital letter given to it by its proud parents (see our note on 1. 49. 7 and below on 8. 8. 4). But there is another weakness of such intruders that equally bewrays them—they cannot tell which way to turn. One scribe puts them before the nearest word, another after it; so *illa tota* competes with *tota illa* and convicts *tota* of its trespass in *Praef.* 5 (where we have collected a fraction of the examples in the first Decade). In the present sentence *quam* is clearly astray. Correctors in *D* and *Rn* and the early editors put *urbi* before *terribilior*, and of course several of the dett. put *quam* after the comparative; Madvig supposes a second comparative such as *exitiabilior* lost before *agris*. But is the phrase *quam urbi* worth so much labour? We follow one of the dett. (*Oxon. B.*) in omitting both words, which seem to us merely another gloss to explain the comparative, correct but quite unnecessary. In the process of insertion the phrase was broken in two and its fragments fell into different places.¹

Other invading phrases with *quam* will be found in 2. 40. 8; 5. 54. 3; 26. 38. 4. In this last place the amusing thing is that *quam*, but with nothing more, has been inserted as early as in the text of Put., and that since the

¹ Professor Anderson proposes *agrestibus terribilior quam urbi*, and attributes the confusion to the homoeon *-tib. terrib-*. But *agri* includes the inhabitants as in 3. 6. 2.

days of printing editors have successively been trying to find the 'missing word': e.g. *calamitas*, *damnum*, *perniciēs*, *clades*, *pestis*, *malum*, have all been suggested; and in the year of grace 1911 H. J. Mueller solemnly and finally accepts for his revision of Weissenborn's text *malum* from M. Mueller. Our British Museum Harl. 2781 (Luchs' β) long ago (in the fifteenth century) rightly omitted *quam*. But Luchs never examined β in Book XXVI.

VII. c. 17. 12—c. 18. 1. In secundo interregno orta contentio est quod etc. . . . Cum intercedendo tribuni nihil aliud quam ut differrent comitia ualuisent, duo patricii consules creati sunt, C. Sulpicius Peticus tertium M. Valerius Publicola eodemque die magistratum inierunt CCCC anno quam urbs Romana condita erat, XXXV quam a Gallis recuperata, ablato post XI annum a plebe consulatu patricii consules ambo ex interregno magistratum iniere C. Sulpicius Peticus tertium M. Valerius Publicola.

So all the MSS., save that, as Glareanus saw, they (or the Symmachi?) have corrupted XI into IX, a common fault. Peticus and Publicola were no doubt most honourable men; but what did they do that Livy should record precisely the same harmless facts about them twice over in seven lines? To ask the question is to answer it. Livy's sentence ended at *a plebe consulatu*; all that follows is merely a marginal summary, highly correct, which has climbed into the text and been kept there with pathetic patience for at least ten centuries—maintained partly by the prudence of Gruter, who brought down his chopper¹ between cc. 17 and 18 at the word *inierunt*; but chiefly, no doubt, by the reverent not to say somnolent eye with which such names are read. If any reader needs evidence of the frequency with which these summaries are foisted on Livy, let him refer to our note on 2. 36. 3 (*Vorm. M*), where he will find one example in full and references to nine others. In the Preface to our forthcoming edition of Books VI.-X. Professor Walters has collected a mass of examples from the part of *M* written mainly by the scribe whom we call Tertius (see our Preface to Books I.-V., § 9).

VII. 24. 4. consul uolnere alligato reuectus ad prima signa.

So rightly all editors, with *P*² and, as we now find, *ODAF*³. But it is worth while to note the beautiful shape in which the earlier manuscripts give the participles, because it shows how close those MSS. stand to the undivided text of their uncial predecessors: 'alligatore uectus' *M*, 'alligator euctus' *PFHT*. What meaning, if any, did they attach to this *alligator*?

BOOK VIII.

VIII. 7. 16-19. In the brief and terrible speech of Titus Manlius there are in the current text two corruptions which appreciably diminish both the fineness of delineation of the father's character and the tense feeling embodied in an

¹ See our Preface to Lib. I.-V. § 5, p. x. possession of Professor Walters.
The edition of 1612 there mentioned is in the

utterance which has not a single superfluous word.¹ It is best to consider it in full; we print what we believe Livy wrote:

‘Quandoque’ inquit, ‘tu, T. Manli, neque imperium consulare neque maiestatem patriam ueritus, aduersus edictum nostrum extra ordinem in hostem pugnasti et, quantum in te fuit, disciplinam militarem, qua stetit ad hanc diem Romana res, soluisti meque in eam necessitatem adduxisti ut aut rei publicae mihi aut mei obliuiscendum sit, nos potius nostro delicto plectemur quam res publica tanto suo damno nostra peccata luat; triste exemplum sed in posterum salubre iuuentuti erimus. Me quidem cum ingenta caritas liberum tum specimen istud uirtutis deceptum uana imagine decoris in te mouet; sed cum aut morte tua sancienda sint consulum imperia aut impunitate in perpetuum abroganda, nec te quidem, si quid in te nostri sanguinis est, recusare censeam quin disciplinam militarem culpa tua prolapsam poena restituas—i, lictor, deliga ad palum.’

In § 16 Manlius states the conflict between his public and his private duty, one of which ‘must be forgotten’; and the single word in which he expresses the second claim is *mei*, deliberately chosen by Livy, we believe, to represent on the one hand the completeness of the sacrifice which the consul makes to his country of his own paternal affection, and on the other the egotism deeply inherent in his character—the whole of Ibsen’s *Brand* in one speech. For what Manlius has no time to consider, earning by his blindness the lifelong detestation of all young men (c. 12. 1), is the right of his boyish son as a separate person to an equitable judgment in the light of all the circumstances, and the loss to his country which the extinction of such individual promise would involve. *Infelix, utcumque ferent ea facta minores.*

But this dramatic intensity passed the comprehension of our scribes, and, unhappily, of our modern editors, though the latter might have judged more soundly if they had had the manuscript evidence fully before them. In the current text after *mei* is inserted *meorumque*, though this is given by no good manuscript, only by *Up* and *F⁴D³A²* with *dett. aliquot*, i.e. there is only one even respectable² authority, *D³*. What have the rest? *meorumue H*, but in *MPFOTDLA*, and therefore quite certainly in the Nicomachean archetype, simply *meorum*. Now we may agree with *H* and *D³* that the asyndeton *mei meorum* is quite out of place here; but what is its origin? Simply that some gentle scribe or reader thought he could improve on Livy by remedying the omission of a reference to Manlius’ son and the rest of his kin, an omission which he, the scribe, had the heart to feel but not the wit to interpret. He therefore wrote *meorum* above *mei*, and his faithful successors copied both alternatives into the text, as they have done in hundreds of other cases.

¹ The same is true also of such famous scenes as the orders of Hannibal for his first great battle in Italy (21. 54. 2), the interview of Coriolanus and his mother (2. 40. 4), and the words of Verginius to his daughter and to Appius (3. 48. 5), to mention no others. The dramatic power of Livy’s restraint in the last

case will be well seen if it be compared with the speech put into Verginius’ lips by no less an orator than Lord Macaulay in his *Lay of Virginia*.

² See the Preface to Vol. I. of our edition, § 26.

In § 18 an emendation of Jakob Gronov has been rather hastily adopted by all subsequent editors at the climax of the scene. All the MSS. (MPFU ρ OHTDLA) read *nec te quidem*, i.e. *et ne te quidem* (as often e.g. Cic. *de Sen.* 9. 27); this makes excellent sense if we connect *censeam* with the preceding *sint* as equally dependent upon *cum*, and gives a dramatic change at the end which represents Manlius as turning from his son to the lictor with the fatal command. That the decision should be made known by the command itself and not previously announced to his son is surely demanded by every sentiment, ancient and modern; and it is surely not less certain that Livy would put the close of such a story not as a short isolated sentence, but as the climax of a period. The change of address is parallel to that in the familiar narrative in the Synoptics of the Healing of the Paralytic: 'but that ye may know that the Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins,'—He saith unto the sick of the palsy, 'I say unto thee, Arise.'

Yet to avoid this absolutely natural break, Jacob Gronov alters *nec* into *ne*, and puts a full-stop at *restituas*. This makes the main verb of the whole stately period nothing better than the feeble *censeam*, which, since we are now to regard it as independent, can mean nothing but 'I should suppose, I am inclined to think,' either faltering or ironical, and in either case totally repugnant to the situation and to the character of Manlius.

VIII. 8. 3-8. LIVY'S ACCOUNT OF THE ROMAN ARMY.

The text according to the MSS., if we disregard minor matters, runs thus :

[3] Clipeis antea Romani usi sunt; dein, postquam stipendiarii facti sunt, scuta pro clipeis fecere; et quod antea phalanges similes Macedonicis, hoc postea manipulatim structa acies coepit esse: postremo in plures ordines instruebantur. [4] **ordo sexagenos milites, duos centuriones, uexillarium unum habebat.** [5] prima acies hastati erant, manipuli quindecim, distantes inter se modicum spatium. manipulus leues uicenos milites, aliam turbam scutorum habebat; leues autem, qui hastam tantum gaesaque gererent, uocabantur. [6] haec prima frons in acie florem iuuenum pubescentium ad militiam habebat. robustior inde aetas totidem manipulorum, quibus principibus est nomen, hos sequebantur, scutati omnes, insignibus maxime armis. [7] hoc triginta manipulorum agmen antepilanos appellabant, quia sub signis iam alii quindecim ordines locabantur, ex quibus ordo unusquisque tres partes habebat—earum unamquamque **primum** pilum uocabant. tribus ex uexillis constabat. [8] **uexillum** centum octoginta sex homines erant. primum uexillum triarios ducebat, ueteranum militem spectatae uirtutis, secundum rorarios, minus roboris aetate factisque, tertium accensos, minimae fiduciae manum: eo et in postremam aciem reiciebantur.

In the last two sections Livy is represented as saying (1) that each of the three parts of each of the fifteen *ordines* was called *primus pilus*, so that each legion had 45 'first companies'; (2) that each of the *ordines* had, on a strict

interpretation 9 *uexilla*, or by straining the order and supplying *ordo*, not *pars* as the subject of *constabat*, 3 *uexilla*; and (3) even on the latter hypothesis, that each *ordo* contained ($3 \times 186 = 558$) men, which, with 15 *ordines*, gives a modest total of 8370 men for this part of the legion alone; whereas in § 14 we learn that *scribebantur . . . legiones quinis milibus peditum*.

The passage may almost be called a locus desperatus. Every modern editor rejects at least *primum* in § 7 and *uexillum* in § 8. Weissenborn further deletes the whole of § 4 (*ordo . . . habebat*); Mommsen, drastic as usual, cuts out three sentences bodily (§ 7 *earum . . . homines erant* § 8); and neither troubles to hint at any reason which could prompt anyone to invent these complex statements which no ingenuity can harmonise even with what is told us in the rest of the chapter, let alone what we know from other places and sources. Even more prudent critics like Madvig and Luterbacher, who are content to excise only the two words in §§ 7 and 8, have first to suppose not merely ignorance but an extraordinary confusion on Livy's part, so that what he first called *manipulatin* he then described as changed *in plures ordines*; and then proceeded to use *ordo*, the very next word, to mean *manipulus*; and then in § 7 used *ordo* in a totally different sense;—and they have then to assume two senseless interpolations on the part of some early scribe or scribes which had the extraordinary fortune of being both planted into the text of the archetype. The wilder excisions are merely signals of distress from benighted folk

‘crying for the light,
And with no language but a cry.’

Yet on the circumstantial evidence of signs still visible in the manuscripts but hitherto entirely unnoted, we believe that the trouble has sprung from a transposition (of 57 letters, i.e. of three lines) in the archetype, due to an obvious cause and paralleled by at least a score of other examples. If this be granted us, with one other change (of *u* to *a* in one word) long since conjectured by Lipsius, we think we can show that Livy's account differed from what Polybius' description of the legion of the Second Century B.C. renders probable for that of the Fourth only in two points, both of a perfectly simple character, and long since pointed out. In one of these Livy may, in the other he must, have been misled, misinterpreting, we may guess, a too compendious statement in his authority. The result was that he could not make his account complete; but so far as it goes, he is, if our hypothesis be granted, quite intelligible and consistent with himself, and honestly silent only about details in which his predecessors seemed to him obscure. This feature in Livy's method ought to be generally recognised. Examples are 2. 11. 9 (where see our note); 3. 24. 8-9 (*extremum anni*); 2. 39. 9; 2. 51. 1; 5. 19. 1 (these three with *iam*, see the note on 2. 39. 9 in Professor Conway's edition of that Book); 7. 25. 10 (*redierat*, where the pluperfect covers a gap in the narrative, see Weissenb. ad loc.); 21. 31. 7 (*arbiter factus*, without any statement from whom the invitation came).

We believe that the words of § 4 *ordo . . . habebat* which Weissenborn rightly despaired of interpreting where they stand, belong to § 8 after *constabat*, to which *ordo* is the subject; and that the word *uexillum*, which is unintelligible following *constabat*, should become the subject of *habebat*, the last word of our transferred clause; and that *ordo* has only one meaning, namely one of the fifteen segments of the third division of the army, segments separated from one another by lines at right angles to the front. With these changes the passage runs thus:

[3] *Clipeis antea Romani usi sunt; dein, postquam stipendiarii facti sunt, scuta pro clipeis fecere; et quod antea phalanges similes Macedonicis, hoc postea manipulatim structa acies coepit esse: postremo in plures ordines instruebantur.* [5] *prima acies hastati erant, manipuli quindecim, distantes inter se modicum spatium. manipulus leues uicenos milites, aliam turbam scutorum habebat; leues autem, qui hastam tantum gaesaeque gererent, uocabantur.* [6] *haec prima frons in acie florem iuuenum pubescentium ad militiam habebat. robustior inde aetas totidem manipulorum, quibus principibus est nomen, hos sequebantur, scutati omnes, insignibus maxime armis.* [7] *hoc triginta manipulorum agmen antepilanos appellabant, quia sub signis iam alii quindecim ordines locabantur, ex quibus ordo unusquisque tres partes habebat—earum unamquamque primam pilum uocabant.* [8] *tribus ex uexillis constabat ordo; sexagenos milites, duos centuriones, uexillarium unum habebat uexillum; centum octoginta sex homines erant. primum uexillum triarios ducebat, ueteranum militem spectatae uirtutis, secundum rorarios, minus roboris aetate factisque, tertium accensos, minimae fiduciae manum: eo et in postremam aciem reiciebantur.*

If the passage had run thus in the MSS. we venture to think that such difficulties as remain would have caused but little trouble. Before discussing these it will be best to note what causes could have led to such a transposition and what evidence the MSS. contain in favour of supposing that it has taken place. But we had better deal at once with one apparently fatal objection to the new arrangement which will probably have caught the reader's eye. In § 8 if each *uexillum* has 60 men, 2 centurions and 1 *uexillarius*, why is the total for 3 *uexilla* only 186, not 189? Because the *uexillarius* was one of the 60 men, the 2 centurions being chosen before the *uexillum* was formed (Polyb. 6.24. 3), the *uexillarii* by the centurions themselves afterwards (id. ib. § 6 ἐκ τῶν καταλειπομένων). Livy may¹ have thought this detail too well known to need any explanation to his readers; it was apparent to any child who had ever looked on at a levy in the Campus Martius while the centurions were helping the military tribunes to pick their men: μετὰ τῶν ταξιάρχων διεῖλον τὰς ἡλικίας (οἱ χιλίαρχοι), as Polybius (§ 3) explains.

We suppose that the beginning of § 8 stood thus in the uncial archetype

¹ Professor Postgate shakes his head, and would prefer to alter the VI. to IX.

or its predecessor (which we assume, as Ver. and Put., to have averaged some eighteen letters to a line) :

PILVMVOCABANTTRIBVS
EXVEXILLISCONSTABAT
ORDOSEXAGENOSMILIT
ESIICENTVRIONESVEX
ILLARIVMVNVMHABEBAT
VEXILLVMCLXXXVIHOM

The ending *-bat* in *constabat* and *habebat* led to the omission of the three lines after *constabat* in the next copy. These were then noted at the top or foot of the page, or in the margin. When this page was itself copied, the scribe endeavouring to restore them was guided by the first word *ordo* to insert them after *ordines instruebantur* in § 3, and thus *ordo* and *uexillum* were both cut off from their proper verbs, to make nonsense by combining with others.

This process of the reinsertion of omitted¹ matter in the wrong place may be seen, to quote examples from this Decade alone, in the following other passages ; nor do we suppose that the list is at all complete :

Praef. § 1: 2. 38. 2; 2. 39. 2-3; 2. 40. 8; 2. 43. 5; 4. 2. 2-10; 4. 7. 10-11; 4. 25. 4; 4. 28. 2; 6. 18. 5; 6. 40. 1-16; 7. 27. 1; 8. 10. 13; 8. 31. 6-7; 8. 37. 12; 9. 9. 17; 9. 18. 14; 9. 30. 6-8; 9. 34. 16; 10. 13. 13; 10. 21. 1; 10. 36. 2.

Some of these we have discussed in *Class. Quart.* IV. (1910) 274, and *ibid.* V. p. 1 seq., some earlier in this article.

Now the MSS. even as they stand do not leave us without warning where the corruption has taken place.

In § 4 *ordo* is placed before *instruebantur* by *L* (after it by *L*¹), and altogether omitted by *O*. In the same way in 4. 7. 6 the words *ut . . . irae* are completely lost in *M*, but have lost only *ut* in *O*. In 7. 27. 1 the words *ciuitatem . . . decem-(uiris)* preserved in *MPFUpO* had fallen into the margin of the archetype of *HTDLA*; *H* restores them twice, in the right place and in a wrong place, but in each case omits *ciuitatem*; *L* restores them in the right place, but with the same omission; on the other hand *TDA* omit everything save *ciuitatem*, but add to it the tell-tale *his* (see p. 3 sup. footnote). For a list of other examples of partial restoration see our note above on 6. 18. 5.

Further, in *M* after *ordo* stands or stood a mark of separation (;) high up in the line, now mainly erased (the corresponding mark in the archetype of *DA* has been interpreted by *D*¹ or *D*² and *A* as *ī*, i.e. *in*, so that they give

¹ On omissions in the uncial archetype see further the second part of this paper (on 8. 31. 5 and 9. 40. 4) and the Introduction to our second volume of the text (VI.-X.); and to show that the first Decade is not alone in this respect, we may mention, e.g. 27. 32. 7, where Put. reads 'postero die | castellum Phyrum uocant | copias omnis eduxit.' But Spirensis (acc. to Rhenanus) gave

postero die omnes copias ad propinquum (possibly -qum) Eliorum (19 letters) castellum Pyrgum uocant eduxit. This means that a predecessor of Put. omitted two whole lines (ad propinquum . . . uocant) (40 letters or less), but copied out one or both in the margin, whence Put. took only one and that in the wrong place.

ordo in sexagenos). In *M* again at the point of junction (*constabat uexillum*) the letters—at *uex*—are written ‘*pleniore calamo*,’ i.e. with much blacker ink, not merely than the letters which precede, but than the letters which follow, and therefore show that there was something before the scribe in his exemplar which caused him to hesitate and leave a blank to be filled up later; examples of this (nineteen in number) will be found in our note on 1. 41. 4,¹ to which add this passage and 10. 37. 15). Before and after *uexillum* there is a punct added in *OHA* and by *M* or *M*²; this is often another trace of invading marginalia; see the examples in our note on 6. 42. 13 above and on 2. 32. 10.

Therefore both at the place whence we suppose that the words came and at the place to which we suppose that they were taken the MSS. show signs of the disturbance.

What is then the result if the transposition be regarded as established?

Nothing can alter the fact that Livy supposed each of the three lines to contain 15 divisions (*quindecim* in § 5, *triginta* and *quindecim* in § 7), whereas Polybius (6. 24. 3) states that there were only 10. Again Livy tells us that each manipule had 20 light-armed men, whereas according to Polybius (6. 24. 4) the whole of the *γροσφομάχοι* were divided equally between all the 30 maniples of the three lines, which, since he gives the number of Hastati, Principes, and Triarii respectively (ib. 21. 9) as 1200, 1200, and 600, and the total of the legion as 4200 at the least (rising to 5000 on special occasions) would be at least 1200 (the proportion was the same whatever the total of the legion, as Polybius explicitly states, c. 21. 10); and 1200 divided by 30 gives 40, not 20, to each manipule. Livy’s total of light-armed men is larger; if we disregard the centurions, he reckoned 15 times 60 to the *vorarii*, the same for the *accensi*, and 20 for each of 30 maniples of the Hastati and Principes, or 900 + 900 + 600, 2400 in all, double the total of Polybius. This in itself is not incredible, since the number of light-armed men is likely to have been considerably smaller in the second century B.C. than in the fourth; after Marius they had disappeared from the legion altogether. But even so a difficulty remains as to the numbers of Hastati and Principes themselves; Livy’s reckoning of 2400 light-armed and 900 triarii proper (3300 together), if the total of the legion was 4200, leaves only 900 heavy-armed soldiers for his 30 maniples, i.e. 30 for each manipule; if we take his own figure of 5000 for the legion, the Hastati and Principes are left with 1700, which gives 56⅔. Both totals are certainly too small (the triarii had 60), and the second is a little too fractional for daily use! These considerations no doubt decided Livy to say nothing about the number in a manipule; his authorities left him in the dark, and he does not profess to know. Madvig acutely guessed (*Emend.*² p. 189) that his difficulty arose from applying to the manipular part of his fourth-century army the total of 30 maniples. This was a true total for

¹ See also § 33 (a) (b) (c) of the Preface to Vol. I. of the text in our edition (Oxford, 1914).

the later (Polybian) army when the Triarii also were included in the manipular system.

It seems probable therefore that in the army which Livy was describing there were only 10 maniples of Hastati, 10 of Principes, and 10 *ordines* of the third division (Triarii + Rorarii + Accensi). Then the numeration becomes clear; the third division has 3 times 600, i.e. 1800; each of the first two has 1600, each maniple running to 160. This gives $1800 + 2 (1600) = 5000$, Livy's total. In each of the maniples of 160 Livy counts 20 light-armed men. This may be true, but it seems likely that Livy has applied to a maniple the figure which his authority meant to belong to a half-maniple or century—a word which neither Livy nor Polybius uses at all in the description, and whose Greek equivalent (perhaps *τάγμα*) may well have been ambiguous. If so, each maniple of the Hastati and Triarii had 40 light-armed and 120 heavy-armed soldiers, the latter number being just double that of each section of the Triarii, as in the Polybian system. These two misunderstandings forced Livy to leave his account incomplete; but if our rearrangement of the text be sound, the details he does give are perfectly consistent with one another. Madvig's conjectures as to other confusions may now be set aside.

There remain two or three minor points. Since in *M* the letters *-anges similes* in § 3 are written 'plenior calamo' (see above), it is just conceivable that they represent an alteration (in *M*'s exemplar) from *phalanx similes* as Luterbacher proposes, but this is hardly necessary. A point where corruption is more likely is the last letter of the word *postremo*, after which there is a punct in *M*. Either *postrema*, which Klock proposed (but which we should take as neuter plural, leaving *instruebantur* unchanged), or *postremi*, which most editors adopt from Ortmann's conjecture, seems to us extremely probable; the phrase *postrema acies* is used at the end of § 8. In § 6 *frons in acie* is the reading of a responsible corrector in *D* (*D*³) also of *F*³*A*⁴, for whom there is less to be said; *Up* gives *frons in aciem*; but *MPF*(?)*OTD*(?)*A* have *foris in acie*; *H* has *foris in acē*; *L* has *in aciem foris*. Madvig conjectured *primae frontis acies*; it is perhaps critically more probable to read *prima sors in acie* (for a similar use of *prima sors* cf. 22. 29. 9, and Verg. *Georg.* 4. 165 *sunt quibus ad portas cecidit custodia sorti*). Then the confusion at this point might be due to the effort of some corrector to replace the difficult *sors* by the more obvious *frons*.

(To be continued.)

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GREEK COMPOUND ADJECTIVES WITH A VERBAL ELEMENT IN TRAGEDY.

A GENERAL treatment of Greek compounds seems much to be desired. It would have to be undertaken by one who had an up-to-date philological equipment, to which I cannot lay claim. But rather with the hope of eliciting discussion on the subject and learning from others I offer the following observations, and in further study of the subject should be grateful to anyone who would advise as to the exact statistics that may be desirable over and above what I give below. I was led to the subject by a feeling that the treatment of many individual compounds by editors was far from satisfactory, and that possibly a collection of the material might help to bring out the exact meaning of some of the well-known difficulties in the Tragedians. One is dealing here with a highly developed and somewhat arbitrary poetic idiom, and it may perhaps be impossible, as one must admit from the outset, always to make precise the poet's meaning, but it is worth while to make the attempt.

Homer is full of compound adjectives of the ornate and standing epithet type in the main, though of the class represented by βούθυτοι τιμαί or πάθεα δακρυοπετῇ or δημηγόροι στροφαί (to take three instances from Aeschylus' *Supplices*) he has hardly any. He has compounds in sufficient number, in which the verbal meaning is clear, and a large number have the verb in the first place—τερπικέραυνος, ἐχέφρων (the parallels of ὀλοόφρων ταλασίφρων, etc., show that the second element is to be regarded as substantival), μενεδήσιος, βωτιάνειρα. These we must regard as belonging to the most primitive stratum, as Sanskrit parallels show. His proper names exhibit the Sanskrit categories clearly. Of the Tat-purusha type we have Ἀστυάναξ; of the Kama-dhāraya type, Κακοίλιος and nearly Καλλικολώνη; of the Bahu-vrīhi type, καλλιγύναικα. But from the first Greek seems to specialize, for whereas the same word may be either KD or BV, and either TP or BV in Sanskrit, in Greek this does not seem to be the case, though of course there are καλλίπαις = καλή παῖς in *Orestes* 964, καλλίπολις *Rep.* 527C. ἀγκυλόμητις might theoretically be KD, a crooked counsellor, but in practice is an epithet of Κρόνος. Nevertheless it may be of value to look back on these origins in treating expressions of tragedy.

One is surprised to find how few Epic compounds are used by Pindar and the Tragedians in comparison with the total number of compounds they employ. On a rough calculation there are 96 compound adjectives in the Olympian odes. Of these only 14 are found in Homer, Hesiod, and the

Hymns. There is one other surprising fact. Only 28 have any definite verbal element, and 57 are of the BV type. It is worth while to give the actual verbal elements: (1) Initial *άλιτο-*, *ἀναξι-*, *δαμασι-*, *ἐρασι-*, *ὄρσι-*, *φύγο-*, *φιλησι-* (not counting *φιλο-*, which is in no sense verbal). (2) Final in *-ος*, *-ης*, *-βολος*, *-βοσκος*, *-δοκος*, *-ελατης*, *-θαλμιος*, *-πετης*, *-πορθος*, *-ρεπτης*, *-φορος*; in *-τος*, *-γναμπτος*, *-δματος*, *-ελατος*, *-φατος*. The absence of the last type is striking in comparison with Aeschylus. The few that call for comment are cases, where the possibility of the adjective is created by the substantive it qualifies. Thus *ῥιμφάρματος* seems in itself impossible, a combination of adverb and substantive to make an adjective; but when coupled with *διφρηλασία*, *δίφρος* being that part of the *ἄρμα* which by its lightness makes racing possible, we have, reduced to prosaic form, 'quickly racing cars of light construction.' *Ποικιλοφόρμιγξ ἀοιδή* is the 'complicated strain of the lyre,' and is really as much a case of transference of the epithet as *νεῖκος ξύναιμον ἀνδρῶν*. *δωδεκάγναμπτος* only becomes a possible word by combination with *τέρμα*, and could not conceivably be used predicatively. One or two of a different nature may be added. *ἀλιερκής χώρα* should not be regarded as verbalized; it is 'a land which has a fence (created by) the sea.' *δολιχήρετος πάτρα* is doubtless BV, just as much as *μελάμβροτος γῆ* (Eur. *fr.*), but it seems to be of an artificial type, an extension of the simple 'much-rice land,' implying 'the fatherland (of those who use) long oars.' These observations on Pindar's usage can be considerably developed in dealing with the Tragedians.

It was not my object to make a complete list of compound adjectives in the Tragedians, so I took a specimen play from each from about the middle of their poetic activity, and the result of that was as follows:

	Lines in Play.	Total Compounds.	Verbal Compounds.
<i>Prometheus Vincit</i> ...	1093	235	25
<i>Oedipus Rex</i> ...	1530	102	11
<i>Ion</i>	1622	145	25

It will be seen that the following statistics, which refer to verbal compounds only, show a similar relation between the three Tragedians which a treatment of all the compounds would bring out.

An examination of the compounds, in which the verbal element comes first (those beginning with *φιλο-* being omitted as before), shows that they borrowed few words from Homer, and were not indebted to each other. Aeschylus has 18, Sophocles 14, Euripides 15. They are: A. *ἀεξι-*, S. *ἀλεξ-*, S. *ἀμυν-*, S. *ἀναξι-*, A. *ἀρπαξ-*, E. *ἀρχε-*, A. *ἀ-στεργ-*, S. *ἀτιμ-*, S. *δακε-*, E. *δεξι-*, A. *δηξι-*, S. *ἐγρε-*, A. *έλι-*, E. *έχε-*, S. *ζευξι-*, E. *θελξι-*, A. *καμφι-*, S. *λαθι-*, E. *λιπο-*, E. *λυσι-*, S. *μελλο-*, AE. *μιξο-*, A. *μισο-*, A. *μνησι-*, S. *νικο-*, E. *ὄλεσι-*, ASE. *πανσι-*, A. *πεισι-*, A. *περσι-*, E. *πλησι-*, A. *ῥιψ-*, A. *ῥυσι-*, AE. *τελεσσι-*, S. *τρυσ-*, AS. *φερε-*, A. *φυξι-*. The primitive type survives, but

the total number is small, and there is little difference between the usage of the three Tragedians. Now come the exact figures:

	Dialogue.	Chorus.	Total.	Lines in Play.
A. AESCHYLUS:				
1. <i>Supplices</i>	12	32	44	1073
2. <i>Persae</i>	12	17	29	1076
3. <i>Septem</i>	15	28	43	1084
4. <i>Prometheus</i>	13	11	24	1093
5. <i>Agamemnon</i>	24	39	63	1673
6. <i>Choephoroe</i>	17	25	42	1076
7. <i>Eumenides</i>	16	13	29	1047
	109	165	274	8122
B. SOPHOCLES:				
1. <i>Oedipus Rex</i>	4	7	11	1530
2. <i>Oedipus Coloneus</i>	6	7	13	1779
3. <i>Antigone</i>	8	10	18	1353
4. <i>Ajax</i>	9	17	26	1420
5. <i>Electra</i>	5	5	10	1510
6. <i>Trachiniae</i>	5	5	10	1278
7. <i>Philoctetes</i>	7	11	18	1471
	44	62	106	10341
C. EURIPIDES:				
1. <i>Cyclops</i>	13	4	17	709
2. <i>Alcestitis</i>	5	4	9	1163
3. <i>Medea</i>	8	2	10	1419
4. <i>Heracidae</i>	1	2	3	1055
5. <i>Hippolytus</i>	7	5	12	1466
6. <i>Andromache</i>	10	4	14	1288
7. <i>Hecuba</i>	7	11	18	1295
8. <i>Supplices</i>	6	6	12	1234
9. <i>Heracles</i>	8	13	21	1428
10. <i>Ion</i>	16	9	25	1622
11. <i>Troades</i>	5	12	17	1332
12. <i>Electra</i>	3	7	10	1359
13. <i>Iph. Taur.</i>	10	9	19	1499
14. <i>Helen</i>	7	12	19	1692
15. <i>Phoenissae</i>	14	25	39	1766
16. <i>Orestes</i>	7	12	19	1693
17. <i>Bacchae</i>	11	14	25	1392
18. <i>Iph. Aul.</i>	7	16	23	1629
19. <i>Rhesus</i>	13	13	26	996
	158	179	337	26037

The first thing one notices is the large use made of the idiom in Dialogue, especially by Euripides. No doubt it is essentially more appropriate to choral passages, but it established itself apparently as a definite feature of Tragedy as a whole. Aeschylus has roughly 1 in 30 lines, Sophocles 1 in 100 lines, Euripides 1 in 77. Only in three plays does Euripides approach to the Aeschylean standard, *Cyclops*, *Phoenissae*, and *Rhesus*, if it be his. It did not

seem advisable to include the fragments in the table, but a study of them shows a constant use in those of Aeschylus and Sophocles, and a comparative absence in the fragments of Euripides, which are so largely sententious, that one does not wonder at the fact. One notes that the poet is often tempted to multiply instances in a choral passage, e.g. in the *Ajax* between lines 208 and 253 there are seven cases, and in the *Septem* there are ten instances between lines 127 and 180. If Sophocles uses the idiom more sparingly, his instances strike us often as more elaborate bits of poetic experiment than the other two usually give us.

From an examination of all the instances, it appears that it is really impossible to distinguish in many cases the active and passive meaning in the compound. Not merely are adjectives compounded with e.g. *-φορος*, *-βορος*, *-κτονος* used in both ways, but there is a residuum of cases in which you cannot say whether the poet intended an active or a passive meaning, so that the rule of Alexandrian scholars as to accentuation becomes meaningless. Who shall say whether *δαφνηφοροι τιμαί* (to omit the accent) is more correctly translated 'laurel-bearing honours' or 'honours of laurel borne'? Did the poet know himself? If *ἀνδροκμής* is used by Aeschylus as an epithet of *πέλεκυς*, *λοιγός*, *μόχθοι*, *τύχαι*, *ἀγωνίαι*, it would seem for him to have taken on the signification of 'murderous,' though it does not follow that he gave a transitive sense to *κάμνω*. In particular I would contest the usually accepted view—that a word ending in *-τος* must have a passive sense. Thus, for instance, Mr. Prickard, on *P.V.* 109 *ναρθηκοπλήρωτον πυρὸς πηγῆν*, says: 'According to analogy it should mean 'filled with reeds,' the form being passive. But Aeschylus uses such compounds with much freedom. The passive sense seems to be always present, but sometimes has to be reached circuitously. Thus *ναρθηκοπλήρωτον* is equivalent to *οὐ (τοῦ πυρὸς) ἐπληρώθη ὁ νάρθηξ*.' Is this tenable? Against it are the following points. All three Tragedians use compounds with *-ρυτος*: Aeschylus, *αἰμόρρυτοι φλέβες* (*Sisyphus* fr.) ; Sophocles, *γονὰς χρυσορύτους* (*O.C.* 950) and *πηγὰς νεορρύτους* (*El.* 894) ; Euripides, *λαιμορρύτου σφαγᾶς* (*Hel.* 355) and *ῥανίσιν αἵματορρύτοις* (*I.A.* 1515). If Aeschylus has *φόνον αἵματοσταγῇ* (*Ag.* 1307), he has also in a similar sense *δακρυσίστακτον ῥέος* (*P.V.* 400) (cf. *Eur. Cycl.* 898 *πυριστάκτῳ πέτρῳ*). Can Euripides' *ὀφθαλμοτέγκτῳ πλημμυρίδι* (*Alc.* 184) be anything but active? Are not *κράτος καρδιόδηκτον* (*Ag.* 1470) *κοπάνων ἀνδροδαίκτων* (*Cho.* 860) and *ἀνδροδαίκτον κόπον* (*Myrm.* fr.) equally clear cases? Probably *ἄτης πανάλωτον* (*Ag.* 361) is an experiment by false analogy, and the same may be said of *νεόκμητον νεκρόν* (*Rhes.* 887). At least everyone must admit that *ἀθηρόβρωτον ὄργανον* (a periphrasis for *πτύον*, *Soph.* fr. 454 Pearson) is a clear case. Having thus premised that, if I am right, nearly all the verbal terminations can be used in an active or a passive sense, let me attempt to classify the instances under the following heads, though often an instance will fall under more than one head:

1. *Transference of Epithet.*—(a) *Simple*; active *τοξουλκῶ λήματι* (*Pers.* 55),

ἄθλον οὐρανοστεγῇ (Aesch. fr. 312), ὠμοφάγους δαίτας (Eur. fr. 475), τυμβοχόα χειρώματα (Sept. 1625), and probably ματέρος ἀνθονόμους ἐπωπᾶς (Supp. 539), χειροτόνους λιτάς (Sept. 172); *passive*, καράτομος ἐρημία νεανιῶν (Tro. 564) for καρατόμων, ἀρτιτρεφεῖς βλαχαί (Sept. 350), ὠμοδρόπων νομίμων (Sept. 333). (b) *Complex*, νεοδμήτες γάμοι (Med. 1366), λαιμοτόμη' ἄχη (Eur. fr. 122), νυκτιπλάγκτων κελευμάτων (Cho. 751); the baby cries, but the nurse walks him about in her arms (on the other hand, νυκτίπλαγκτος πόνος Ag. 330 and νυκτίπλαγκτα δείματα Cho. 524 are cases of simple transference). This seems sometimes to involve an artificial shuffling of the elements. If πάχνα κουροβόρω (Ag. 1513) is not corrupt, it must be that 'a bloody eating of children' is inverted, and in any case it is a mistake to try and classify κουροβορος as either active or passive. σπείραι δικτυόκλωστοι (Ant. 347) means 'the woven meshes of the net.' This last instance falls also under heading 2.

2. *Redundancy*.—Such expressions as εὐήρετος πλάτα (O.C. 716), βίος μακραίων (O.T. 518), λόγος κακόθρους (Ai. 318), εὐπαις γόνος (I.T. 1234), εὐπήχεις χεῖρες (Hipp. 200), ἐπημαξυμένη τροχοῖσιν (Ant. 251), illustrate this type. Thus we have ἀστύνικον πόλιν (Eum. 915), λαίλαπι χειμωνοτύπω (Supp. 34), οἶνοχύτου πώματος (Phil. 715: πῶμα is the genus, οἶνος the species): so πώματος ὕδρηχόν (Eur. fr. 884), κρήναισι ὕδροχύτοις (Cycl. 68). In the unique expression καρατόμοις χλιδαῖς (Soph. El. 52), where καράτομος really ought not to mean 'cut from the head,' but 'beheaded,' is it possible that κάρα is the whole, and χλιδαί 'ornamental locks' the part, and so it falls under this class? Soph. *Electra* 156 πλοῦτον χρανόφαντον is 'wealth of gold displayed.' In the figure of which ἄχαλκος ἀσπίδων is a type there is the same combination of genus and species.

3. *Brachylogy*.—As ὄξυπλήγας γόους (Soph. fr. 523) seems to mean 'wailing of women who deal fierce blows,' so ἀλίτυπα βάρη (Pers. 945) seems to mean 'griefs for sea-tossed (corpses).' If φιλοθύτων ὀργίων means 'rites paid by willing worshippers,' it is of the same kind. It seems very unnatural to take τρυσάνωρ (Phil. 208) in any but an active sense. Can 'an exhausting cry' be a sort of brachylogy for 'the cry of an exhausting malady'? σιτονόμος ἐλπίς (Phil. 1091) 'food-providing hope' = hope that food will be provided. If στόνον βαρυβρῶτα (Phil. 695) go together, the expression is of this kind. I may add here ἵππομανῇ λειμῶνα (Ai. 143), about which there is unnecessary difficulty. It seems to me quite poetical to say that 'a meadow is wild with horses,' and quite unnecessary to analyze it into ἐφ' ᾧ οἱ ἵπποι μαίνονται.

4. *Comparison*.—Homer's ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως is the type of this; the streaks of light in the dawn are like rosy-fingers (cf. Soph. χρυσαυγῆς κρόκος). Thus we have ἵπποβάμοσιν καμήλοις (Aesch. Supp. 284), ὀδύναις κεντροδαλήτισι (Aesch. Supp. 563), κυματοαγεῖς ἄται (O.C. 1243). The Aeschylean instances are simpler; the Sophoclean is a compressed simile.

5. *Inversion of the Prosaic Order*.—This may account for some of those

phrases in which the adjective is usually translated as if it were equivalent to a noun and passive participle in the genitive. Some of these have already been dealt with under § 2, but in these highly artificial phrases it is inevitable that there may be more than one factor in their construction. Prose would say 'linen torn to tatters,' but Aeschylus has *λινόφθοροι λακίδες*, where *λακίδες* cannot mean 'rendings,' as *στολμοί* is in apposition. Euripides has *βορέᾳ ἀνθρωποκτόνῳ* (*Cycl.* 127), the prose form of which is 'men killed for food.' The epithet *βούθυτος* is found with *ἐστία*, *ἐσχάρα*, *ἡδονή*, *ἡμαρ*, and *τιμή*, and I hardly think it possible to decide whether the poets were conscious of a distinction of active and passive in these various instances. On the other hand Dr. Verrall is probably right in regarding *ἀρειφάτοι ἀγῶνες* (*Eum.* 914), with which goes *ἀρείφατοι φόνοι* (*Eur. Supp.* 603), as probably active; for *ἀρείφατον λῆμα* (*Aesch. fr.* 147) is so exactly like *τοξουλκῶ λήματι*, and seems to be a case of simple transference. In view of the frequency of *αἷμα* = *φόνος* in Greek Tragedy (*Soph. fr.* 799 actually has *αἷμα συγγενὲς κτείνας* for 'having committed the murder of a kinsman'), Elmsley is perhaps right in regarding most of the *-κτονος* compounds as active, e.g. *αἵματος μητροκτόνου* (*Orest.* 1649) 'matricidal murder.' The more primitive (BV) type is illustrated by *ματροφόνον δῦας* (*Eum.* 268) 'mother-murder woe.'

6. *Juxtaposition*.—This class is very dubious, but it stands or falls with the Sophoclean group of epithets, in which Jebb holds this explanation, *δικρατεῖς λόγχαι* (*Ant.* 146) = *δύο καὶ κρατοῦσαι, πυκνόπτεροι ἀηδόνες* = *πολλὰ καὶ περουῖσαι, οἰόζωνος, δίστολος, ἐκατόμπους* (though his note on this last is inconsistent with itself). There is a group in *-φορος* which may have this meaning. Nothing will induce me to believe that *δαφνηφόρους κλῶνας* (*Ion* 422) means 'branches of olive with laurel on them.' It seems to mean 'branches of laurel carried.' In *Soph. fr.* 11 *παρδαλήφορον δέρος* seems to be a 'leopard-skin worn.' In *Bacch.* 102 *θηρότροφον ἄγραν* is translated 'beast-fed prey,' but I cannot imagine what that means. Either Elmsley is right in reading *θυρσοφόροι Μαίναδες*, or Mr. Morice's conjecture *θηρόφορον ἄγραν* 'a prey of beasts, i.e. snakes, worn,' should be adopted. *Soph. fr.* 89 is difficult: *κερασφόρους στόρθυγας* may be 'tynes of horn worn' by the reindeer, as it seems unnatural to transfer the epithet of the reindeer to the antlers.

7. *Progressive Verbalization*.—This is well illustrated by *χρυσόκολλος χρυσοκόλλητος*. Thus *κοῖλα χρυσόκολλα* (*Soph. fr.* 378) is 'gold-glue incrustations,' i.e. incrustations in which gold is glued on, and *κόπην χρυσόκολλον* (*Eur. fr.* 590) is a 'gold-glue haft.' But we also find *χρυσοκολλήτοις δίφροις* (*Phoen.* 2), *χρυσοκολλήτοις τύποις* (*Rhes.* 305), *ῥυνοκόλλητον χρήμα* (*Soph. Ichn.* 366) a 'hide-glued thing,' i.e. a thing made of glued hides, where *ῥυνοκόλλον* would have done just as well. Euripides has *καλλίπυργον ἄστν* (*Bacch.* 1202) and *καλλιπυργώτους πόλεις* (*Bacch.* 19), and Hesychius has the gloss *δύσανυλος · δυσάυλιστος*. In constructing these *-τος* compounds, it really did not signify whether there was a verb like *κολλάω* in use or not. Aeschylus (*fr.* 118) has *πισσοκωνήτη πυρί*, and this is probably only 'a fire made (*-τος*)

with pitch and pine-cones.' Exactly the same tendency is to be observed in English, e.g. 'barefoot,' 'barefooted.'

8. *Weakening of Verbal Element*.—As many older editors have observed, the verbal idea seems often to disappear in the compound. Thus *παλαίφατος πρόνοια* (*Trach.* 828) seems only a more grandiose word for *παλαιά*. The same may be said about endings in *-ήρης* (*ἀγχήρης* *Soph.* fr. 7, *τυμβήρει θαλάμῳ* *Ant.* 947 = simply 'sepulchral'), *-αυλος*, *-νομος*, *-γενης*, *-πορος*, *-ελατος* (cf. *Ion* 1306, where it is difficult to believe that *θεηλάτους ἔδρας* could mean 'the seat to which you have been driven by the god.' *Ion* would not say so!), and *-δματος*, e.g. in *Pindar* (*Ol.* 3. 11 *θεόδματον χρέος* *Isthm.* 5. 15 *θεοδμάτων ἀρετάς*).

If this humble attempt to deal with a very difficult subject, on which I cannot possibly hope to have hit the mark in everything I have said, succeeds in eliciting a treatment of it by more competent hands, my object in writing will have been entirely attained.

G. C. RICHARDS.

A SPURIOUS MIME FRAGMENT (XXI. RIBB.).

ON p. 382 of his third edition of the *Comici Romani* Ribbeck assigns the number xxi. to a fragment consisting of a single word, *ingluuiæ*, a word which he has extracted from Goetz' *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*: 'Gloss. Amplon. C.G.L. V. 367 G. "in mimo ingluuiæ, quod tantum ad mimarios et mimographos pertinet."' This is what is variously called the First Amplonian or First Erfurt Glossary and is identical with the older and more accurate Épinal Glossary. Goetz in his apparatus has printed the Épinal variants, a fact overlooked by Ribbeck: *ingliwæ* and *tamen* (Ampl. I. has the symbol *tm̄*). Both variants are right. We have here not the Latin word *ingluuiæ* (-ia) but the two Anglo-Saxon words *in gliwæ* 'in a play'; and the following sentence is apparently a torso from a scholium on the Mime. The Corpus College MS. containing a cognate glossary to this one was so faithfully reproduced in Dr. Hessels' apograph (Cambridge, 1890) that it was excluded by Goetz from the volumes of the C.G.L. and from the index to these volumes, the *Thes. Gloss.* It was therefore ignored by Ribbeck, as it has been unfortunately overlooked by various foreign publications (e.g. by the great Latin Thesaurus often). The Corpus College MS. has merely *In mimo: in gliowe* (omitting the torso).

This part of these glossaries contains a batch of Orosius glosses, and *in mimo* comes from Orosius' story of Augustus (*Hist.* 6, 22, 4): 'nam cum eodem spectante ludos pronuntiatum esset in mimo "O dominum aequum et bonum,"' etc. So Ribbeck's fragment is a phantom.

W. M. LINDSAY.

VIRGIL GLOSSES IN THE ABOLITA GLOSSARY.

THE aim of this article is twofold: first, to prove that Virgil was one source of the Glossary which is printed within square brackets in Goetz' *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, Vol. IV. pp. 4-198, and to which Professor Lindsay, in his article on the Abstrusa Glossary and the Liber Glossarum in the *Classical Quarterly* for July of last year (Vol. XI. No. 3), has given the name of Abolita (Abol.); secondly, to show, as the result of assigning batches of glosses to Virgil, that certain corrections must be made in the *Thesaurus Glossarum Emendatarum*. The corrections there made likewise hold good for the *Latin Thesaurus*, so far as it goes, which has taken over the errors without question from the *Thes. Gloss.*

The first to point out the existence of Virgil glosses in the composite Glossary, C.G.L. IV. pp. 3-198, was Funck, in a short paper in the *Commentationes Woelfflinianae* (1891). Goetz, acting on this information, has ventured to assign various glosses to Virgil, but he failed to note the existence of Virgil-batches. He has derived help from a Virgil Glossary, printed in the same volume of the C.G.L. pp. 427-470. It has reached the stage of fairly strict alphabetical arrangement. What the connexion between this Virgil Glossary and Abol. was we cannot say with absolute certainty; ultimately there must have been some. E.g., as Professor Lindsay points out (Study No. III.), they both have this curious gloss (p. 181, 41): 'Tartareum canem tricerberum, id est tricipitem' (p. 466, 9): 'Tartareum custodem canem tricerberum.' Many of the items are identical: e.g. in the TE-section, p. 182, 37 = p. 466, 21; 38 = 466, 17; 39 = 466, 35; 40 = 466, 41; 41 = 466, 22; 42 = 466, 44; and many items, if not identical, are so much alike in both that we are justified in claiming a common, though remote, origin for them. This Glossary often helps us. E.g. p. 165, 2; 'Rotarum lapsus' is shown by it to be 'Rotarum lapsus: uolubilitas curruum,' *Aen.* 2, 235.

Since Abol. has not been reduced to strict alphabetical order, but is still in the AB-, and in parts in the ABC-stage, the Virgil glosses often retain their original order, i.e. the order in which the words occur in the text. Where such a harmonious sequence is found, we are on safe ground when we claim that it cannot be due to mere accident. It will not be necessary to exhibit all the batches in detail, nor shall I bind myself down to an alphabetical arrangement of the sections. The clearest examples will be dealt with first. In many sections the batches have been broken up, and few, if any, traces of them

remain, except where an indubitably Virgilian expression occurs. Thus in the IN-section there seems to be a large number of Virgil glosses on pp. 100-1; though they have been broken up, separate batches retain their coherence :

				<i>Aen.</i>
P. 100, 39.	Inane<m>: superfluum	...	...	3, 304.
40.	Interluit: perfundit	...	...	3, 419.
41.	In abruptum: in profundum	...	...	3, 422.
42.	Infabricata: incomposita	...	...	4, 400.
43.	Ingeminant: iterant	...	...	4, 531.
44.	Ingeminans: iterato uocans	...	...	2, 770.
45.	Incendit: excitaui	...	...	5, 455.
46.	Inualidus: uitiosus	...	...	6, 114.
46 ^a .	Iugum: collum	...	...	6, 804.
47.	Instaurare: renouare	...	...	7, 146.
48.	Incudis: massa ferri librata	...	...	7, 629.
49.	Inopina: insperata uel improuisa	...	...	8, 476.
50.	Inexpletus: insatiabilis	...	...	8, 559.
51.	Indulgere: operam dare	...	...	9, 615.
52.	Inglorius: non pugnans	...	...	9, 713.
53.	Innabant: natabant	...	...	10, 222.
54.	Innocuae: inlaesae	...	...	10, 302.
55.	Inextricabile: inexplicabile	...	...	?
P. 101, 1.	Indiscreta: non separata	...	...	10, 392.
2.	Ingrauat: exaggerat	...	...	11, 220.
3.	Impellite: prouocate	...	...	11, 278.
4-7	are unsuitable, having, so far as can be seen, no connexion with Virgil; but the Virgil thread can be picked up again at No. 8.			
8.	Improuida: sine prouidentia	...	...	2, 200.
9.	Ineluctabile: quod non euaditur	...	...	2, 324.
10.	Inruimus: cum impetu inuadimus	...	...	2, 383.
11.	Induitur: operitur	...	...	2, 393.
12.	Inuitis: nolentibus	...	...	2, 402.
13.	Insidi<os>is: fraude pugnantibus siue dolosis	...	...	2, 421.
14.	In occasu: in interitu	...	...	2, 432.
15.	Incomitata: siue comitibus	...	...	2, 456.
16.	In praecipiti: in alto uel in abrupto	...	...	2, 460.
17.	Imbelle: debile	...	...	2, 544.
18.	Insertabam: inserebam, contexebam	...	...	2, 672.
19.	Innoxia: innocua	...	...	2, 683.
20.	Immerita<m>: indigna<m>	...	...	3, 2.
21.	Immemores: nescii uel imprudentes	...	...	3, 617.

The following corrections must be made in *Thes. Gloss.* in the case of these items: P. 100, 39. S.v. 'inanis': for 'inane' read 'inanem.' (There is

often difficulty in saying where a batch begins or ends. In the present instance the change to 'inanem' is justified, as it conforms to the order of the other glosses.) 44 has been transferred here to accompany the preceding gloss. There are several instances of this: e.g. in the CE-section on p. 32, No. 31 (= *Aen.* 4, 2), is shifted from its proper place to accompany No. 30 (= *Aen.* 2, 453). 45. S.v. 'incendo': for *Aen.* 4, 197, *leg. Aen.* 5, 455. 46^a. This gloss is found in the Monte Cassino MS. (*Cass.*)—Goetz designates it *a*—but is not found in *Vat. Lat.* 3321 (the MS. printed on pp. 3-198 of *C.G.L.* Vol. IV.). *Cass.* preserves many such glosses not found in *Vat.* 52. S.v. 'inglorius,' for *Aen.* 11, 793, *leg. Aen.* 9, 713. 55 is to be ruled out as an intruder. P. 101, 9. S.v. 'ineluctabilis,' for *Aen.* 8, 334, *leg. Aen.* 2, 324 (cf. Funck, l.c., who says = 2, 324 [8. 334]). 10. S.v. 'irruo,' delete *Ter. Eun.* 788; *leg. Aen.* 2, 383. 11. S.v. 'induo,' for *Aen.* 7, 640, *leg. Aen.* 2, 393. 16. S.v. 'in praecipitio,' delete, and add new paragraph, 'In praecipiti.' 20. S.v. 'immeritum,' *leg. -am -am,* *Aen.* 3, 2. 21. S.v. 'immemor,' delete *Aen.* 3, 244, and read *Aen.* 3, 617. Goetz has here been misled by Funck, who is not however mentioned by him.

To exhibit all the other batches with the same detail would occupy too much space. The reader, with the help of Merguet's *Virgil Lexicon* or Wetmore's *Index Verborum Vergilianus*, can satisfy himself that the following batches are no less patent than the one detailed above. P. 36, 34-44, continued p. 37, 16-36 = *Geo.* 2, 242; *Aen.* 1, 264; 2, 24; 1, 281; 1, 276; 1, 361; 1, 374; 1, 383; 1, 413; 1, 419; 1, 475; 1, 475; 1, 487; 1, 493; 1, 530; 1, 572; 5, 136; 1, 563; 1, 581; 1, 608; 1, 662; omit 26, a fusion of two glosses ('contextit' may form part of a note on 'intexunt,' *Aen.* 2, 16); 2, 73; 2, 73; 2, 86; 2, 167; 2, 172; 2, 736 ('confusam'); 2, 766; 3, 22 ('cornea uirgulta'); 3, 31; 3, 41-2.

Notes and Corrections.—P. 36, 34. A headless gloss, '<cola>: colatoria liquatoria?' If so, s.v. 'colatoria,' delete 36, 34, and add s.v. 'colum.' For other instances cf. p. 28, 39, '<Fata>: casus, periculum, euentus,' *Aen.* 1, 382 (standing between *Aen.* 1, 292, and 1, 387); p. 110, 27, '<diues>: locuples, multa loca possidens,' *Aen.* 6, 195 (standing between *Aen.* 4, 374, and 6, 321). 35. S.v. 'contundo,' for 'Contundit: debellat,' *leg. -et, -abit.* 36-37. Goetz prints only an apograph of Abol., and does not indicate the deviations of *Cass.* from *Vat.*'s order (see p. ix of his preface, Vol. IV.). These items may stand in their proper places in *Cass.* Thus 36 would follow 38 as the result of attraction, while 37, if a note on 'consilia' of *Aen.* 1, 281, as I imagine it to be, should immediately precede 39. 40. Read 'componet: fini[u]et, explicabit,' s.v. 'compono.' It may be a fusion of two glosses, 'componet <finiet, explicabit' (*Aen.* 1, 374); 'composuit>: finiuit, explicauit' (*Aen.* 1, 698, misplaced owing to attraction). 44. The marginal note on 'impar' was 'Impar: inaequalis, Compar: aequalis.' The first half appears at 96, 42 (see note on 71, 45, below). P. 37, 15. 'Congreditur: dimicat aut confligit' might be included (*Aen.* 11, 720), attracted here by the following item. But

more probably it is an Abstrusa-intruder from 40, 28. The result of combining Abstrusa and Abolita to form one glossary, even though they have been kept separate, is that various Abstrusa-glosses have strayed into Abolita-portions. Where a gloss in Abol. disturbs a sequence, and is at the same time an Abstrusa-gloss, it can be ruled out. 16. Perhaps we should read 'Congressus: dimicans,' if the original form was 'congressus: dimicās,' then 'congressis: dimicās,' and finally 'congressis: dimicantibus.' But the word in the Virgil text does not always reappear in the gloss (cf. 18, 'concurrrens: consentiens,' a note on 'concurrere'; 34, 'cornus,' etc., a note on 'cornea uirgulta'). 21. Misplaced to accompany 20. 25. '<urit>: conbussit' (corrupted to 'conuulsit'), 'excitauit'? If so, s.v. 'uro,' add a new paragraph, and delete s.v. 'conuellit.' 29. See note on 16. 35. S.v. 'conuellit,' *leg.* 'confringere.'

P. 32, 18-35 = *Aen.* 1, 177; 1, 365; 1, 416; 1, 536; 1, 357; omit 23, a Terence gloss; 1, 521; 2, 244; 1, 576; 1, 640; 2, 30; 2, 166; 2, 453; 4, 2; 2, 266; 2, 628; 3, 121; 3, 2. Some reshuffling has taken place in this section, as happens at times in other sections (e.g. the RE-section, p. 163, 48 sqq.); no doubt due to a desire for a stricter alphabetical arrangement, which however is never fully carried out. 18. Cf. note on p. 37, 16. 29. S.v. 'caesis custodibus,' delete 9, 151. 34. S.v. 'cedo,' delete 297, as not being so suitable.

P. 163, 48-164, 3 = *Aen.* 1, 206; 2, 95; 1, 261; 2, 142; 2, 101; 2, 171 (?); 3, 106 or 272; 3, 690; 4, 466; 6, 674; 7, 12. In this section we have another instance of slight and easily traceable reshuffling. Through alphabetical considerations 50 follows 49, and 52 comes after 51. 50. S.v. 'remordet,' add after IV. 163, 50, *Aen.* 1, 261. Cf. 461, 49 (*Virg. Gloss.*), which G. assigns to *Aen.* 1, 261; 7, 402. 52. S.v. 'reuoluo,' for 'reuoluor: retexeo,' *leg.* 'reuoluo: retexo.' 53. Headless gloss? perhaps a note on 'dubiis' of *Aen.* 2, 171. P. 164, 3. S.v. 'resono,' *leg.* *Aen.* 7, 12, for 4, 668.

P. 177, 46-178, 9 = *Aen.* 1, 40; 1, 71; 1, 95; 1, 163; 1, 416; 1, 357; 1, 431; 1, 437; 2, 91; 2, 193; 2, 463; 2, 512; 2, 643; 4, 702. After this the trail becomes less clear. Thus 10 may be due to attraction of 11 (reading 'subigit'), for which cf. *Virg. Gloss.* 465, 19. So 11 may = *Aen.* 6, 302 or 567. And 12 may conceivably be a headless gloss—'<proiecto tegmine>: sub tegmine <uel> sub uelamine,' *Aen.* 9, 577. And 13 may = *Aen.* 11, 600 or 638; while after the Abstrusa-portion 37 and 38 may respectively be *Aen.* 10, 296 and 10, 810. At any rate down to No. 9 the Virgil batch is certain.

P. 177, 50, a note on 'Sabaeo ture.' P. 178, 2. Goetz should not doubt the reference to *Aen.* 1, 431; so with 4, which quotes only Virgil's words and gives no explanation of them. 5, perhaps a note on 'ultro,' *Aen.* 2, 193. 6, perhaps a note on *Aen.* 2, 463 (s.v. 'superne,' Goetz assigns to *Aen.* 6, 658); cf. 465, 51; 'superna: superior pars.' 7, a case of inversion; cf. 465, 15, where the correct form is found. For another instance, cf. 52, 46 (a note on *Aen.* 5, 260).

In the SE-section we find two batches: P. 52, 18-21 = *Aen.* 6, 141; 6, 217; 6, 376; 7, 473; and p. 52, 41—p. 53, 1 = *Aen.* 1, 145; 1, 404; omit 43 and 44 as intruders; 4, 475; 5, 260; 5, 503; 6, 172 or 590; 7, 794; 50 and 51 together = 8, 326; 10, 331; *Ecl.* 2, 19; 6, 5; 6, 71; *Aen.* 1, 722 or 2, 509; 2, 517; 4, 330; 4, 536.

Corrections.—42. S.v. 'defluo,' G. should not doubt the reading 'defluxit,' or the reference to *Aen.* 1, 404. 46. Inversion. 50-51. S.v. 'decoloratas,' delete paragraph; s.v. 'desidia,' delete 'debilitata (desidua ?),' IV. 52, 51; add new paragraph 'decolor aetas: non similis, desidia (Abl.) debilitata,' *Aen.* 8, 326. 55. S.v. 'deduco,' *leg.* 'deducunt: deponere inpellunt uel ruinam faciunt,' *Ecl.* 6, 71. 56. S.v. 'desuetus,' add *Aen.* 1, 722. 57. '<condensae>: densae, in unum collectae:' s.v. 'densus,' delete item; and s.v. 'condensus,' add new item.

In the MA-section we find the following batch: P. 113, 23^a-29, continued on p. 114, 10-15 = *Aen.* 1, 26; 1, 137; 1, 421; 1, 678; 1, 702; 2, 23; 2, 146; 2, 667; 3, 21; 6, 5; 6, 84; 6, 165, etc.; 10, 828 or 11, 689. 24. S.v. 'mature fuga,' *leg.* 'matur<at>e fuga<m>.' 30 might have been included, even though it is a stray, reading 'murice <pur>pura' = *Aen.* 2, 667; v. Goetz, s.v. 'murex.' P. 114, 10. S.v. 'mactatus,' *leg.* 'mactati: caesi,' deleting 'uel alias augere' ('auget,' *Cass.*); s.v. 'macto,' delete 'mactaui caesi uel alias augere.' 15. S.v. 'manus,' *leg.* 'spiritibus'; delete ('spiritibus subesse uidetur'): cf. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. 411.

SE-section, p. 169, 46—170, 1 = *Aen.* 1, 4; 1, 149; 1, 205 or 247 or 415; 1, 458; 1, 506; 1, 515; 2, 786; 5, 684; 3, 446; 4, 261. 46. S.v. 'saeuus,' *leg.* 'saeuientis,' cf. *Virg. Gloss.* 463, 2. 48. S.v. 'sedes,' cf. 463, 28, which G. assigns to *Aen.* 7, 52. 50. S.v. 'saeptum,' *leg.* 'saepta armis: apparatibus circumdata.' 51. S.v. 'setres,' delete paragraph, and add new paragraph: 'sed res animos incognita tur<bat>.' For absence of explanation of phrase, cf. SU-section, p. 178, 4. 52. S.v. 'seruitum': *leg.* 'seruitum: in seruitium,' cf. 463, 43. 53. Cf. 466, 2. If we are right in assigning it to *Aen.* 5, 684, it is out of place. 54. S.v. 'seclusum,' *leg.* 'abditā' (Nettleship). P. 170, 1. S.v. 'stellatus ensis,' *leg.* 'fulgens,' IV. 170, 1. G. is not justified in emending to 'effulgens' on the strength of 465, 1. P. 170, 2 might have been included, reading '<sator>: seminator uel pater,' *Aen.* 1, 254? Cf. 'sator: seminator,' p. 463, 14, which G. assigns to *Aen.* 1, 254 and 11, 725. But cf. p. 166, 20-21, which may represent a fragment of a Virgil batch = *Aen.* 1, 254: 2, 103.

Shorter batches are frequent; indeed, there is hardly a section to be found where there are not a few Virgil glosses retaining their original order. P. 4, 11-15 = *Aen.* 8, 263 (11 and 12); 10, 164; 11, 14; 11, 667. 12. S.v. 'abiuratae,' delete 'uel abiure.' P. 10, 51-6 = *Aen.* 1, 420; 1, 452; 2, 381; 2, 385; 2, 719; 4, 591. P. 28, 38-46 = *Aen.* 1, 292; 1, 382; 1, 387; 1, 417; 2, 23; 2, 182, etc.; 4, 81; 4, 84; 2, 260. 39. Headless gloss: s.v. 'casus,' delete item and add s.v. 'Fata.' 40. S.v. 'capio,' delete item and add s.v. 'carpo, carpis: accipis.' 43. S.v. 'Calchas,' *leg.* 'diuinandi'? 44. S.v.

'cadentia sidera:' delete *Aen.* 2, 9. 46 is misplaced through alphabetical considerations?

There has been considerable reshuffling in the EX-section. E.g. p. 67, 13-19=*Aen.* 5, 534; 5, 687; omit 15; 5, 626; 7, 642; 7, 84; 7, 465. 15. Goetz, s.v. 'ex[t]entero,' says 'cf. euiszero'; i.e. he refers to p. 66, 16, 'euiscerat: excomedit.' 'Euiscerat' occurs *Aen.* 11, 723. But the problem seems still unsolved, for *Cass.* has 'exegerat.' So also on p. 71, though there is disorder, there is still coherence of Virgil-glosses. E.g. 16-24=*Aen.* 2, 213; 2, 470; 2, 658; 2, 229; 1, 429; 6, 746; 4, 267; 8, 418; 6, 890. 25-28 must be omitted. Goetz ventures to assign 29 to *Aen.* 8, 395. At 30 the batch resumes again, going down to 33=*Aen.* 3, 224; 4, 322; 4, 625 (both 32 and 33). 34 must be omitted. Goetz seems hardly justified in assigning 35 to *Aen.* 2, 169, if the following are correct. 36 and 37 seem to be a correction of the defective 'expedi,' 47. There we should no doubt read 'expedi<am: dicam, explicabo, narrabo>,' *Aen.* 7, 40. 38-48=*Ecl.* 7, 34; *Geo.* 4, 157; 4, 315; *Aen.* 2, 625; 3, 425; 3, 419; 4, 550; 5, 107; 6, 770; 7, 40; 7, 424 (i.e. the second half of 47—'externus: extraneus'); 9, 193.

Corrections.—18. Goetz wrongly refers to *Aen.* 12, 424. 36-37 and 47. S.v. 'expedio,' delete 'dic [externus extraneus], IV. 71, 47, Ter. *Ph.* 197; delete also 'expediam dicam,' IV. 71, 36; and s.v. 'explicabo,' delete 'explicabo narrabo,' IV. 71, 37; add new paragraph s.v. 'expedio,' linking together 47 (first part), 36 and 37. For 47, s.v. 'externus,' add 'extraneus,' IV. 71, 47, *Aen.* 7, 424. 39. S.v. 'experior,' for *Aen. leg. Geo.* 42. S.v. 'exercita<n>tem,' *leg.* 'exertantem' (Nettleship). 43. S.v. 'exuo,' bracket 'indue,' which *Cass.* omits. 44. S.v. 'expertus,' *leg.* 'experta<m>: temptata<m>.' 45. The marginalia at *Aen.* 5, 107 seem to have been 'Excierat: uocauerat, Accierat: conuocauerat' (p. 7, 9, standing in a Virgil-batch between *Aen.* 2, 671 and *Aen.* 5, 613). For a marginal note of this sort cf. p. 85, 4, 'Halant: spirant; alias' (i.e. 'alunt,' Nettleship) 'reficiunt.' 46 seems to be a note on 'egregius,' of *Aen.* 6, 770. So s.v. 'excretus,' delete IV. 71, 46, and add s.v. 'Egregius.'

MO-section. P. 118, 21-30=*Geo.* 1, 329; 3, 224; 3, 370; 3, 405; 4, 460; *Aen.* 1, 135; 1, 424; 1, 670; 4, 367; 4, 175. 25. Another gloss like 71, 45 and 85, 4. Read '<chorus: multitudo>,' p. 46, 2; (also in *Virg. Gloss*); 'modii x: corus.' So s.v. 'chorus,' add after 46, 2, p. 118, 25, '<Chorus, multitudo> modii x corus.' 29. *Leg.* '<ad>morunt'; s.v. 'moueo,' delete item and add s.v. 'admoueo.' Cf. *Virg. Gloss.* 453, 27.

Disarrangement appears in the PRO-section, the glossary reaching the ABC-stage: P. 150, 48—151, 5=*Aen.* 2, 86; 1, 250; 1, 739; 2, 24; 1, 536; 3, 72; 2, 733; 2, 505 (first part of 55; the second part, '<Proauus>: aui pater'=3, 129); 3, 366; 4, 166; 5, 185 (*leg.* 'Pr. propiat' ?); 4, 231; 6, 795. 50. *Leg.* 'Pr. profudit' ? 53. *Leg.* 'Pr. portu: egredimur' ? 55 (second half). S.v. 'proauus,' add new item; cf. p. 459, 31. P. 151, 1. Note on 'prodigium' of *Aen.* 3, 366 ? *leg.* 'Pr. praedicat.' 5. S.v. 'profero,' *leg.* 'productet.'

Lack of space prevents me from doing more than merely calling attention

to some other batches to which readers may refer. E.g. p. 7, 5-14 (omitting No. 7), beginning *Aen.* 1, 32; p. 20, 28-33, beginning *Aen.* 1, 250; p. 45, 43-9, beginning *Aen.* 1, 337; p. 82, 37-45, omitting 39 (if it is not 'gessi[t]: egi[t]' of *Aen.* 2, 156), and beginning *Aen.* 5, 51 or 192—traces of reshuffling are to be found; p. 101, 33-6, beginning *Aen.* 1, 339; short and scattered batches in the LA-section, e.g. p. 105, 40-3, beginning *Aen.* 4, 667; p. 106, 33-6, beginning *Aen.* 4, 73; p. 110, 24-31, beginning *Aen.* 2, 727 (as explained above, 27 seems to be a note on 'diues' of *Aen.* 6, 195); p. 126, 13-17, 13 being a fusion of *Geo.* 1, 22—'non<ullo>: nullo'—and *Aen.* 1, 38 (cf. p. 454, 13); p. 134, 28-32, beginning *Aen.* 2, 1; p. 156, 33-7, beginning *Aen.* 2, 8, and in 37 reading 'perstrinxit'=*Aen.* 10, 344; p. 160, 17-19, and 27-9, beginning respectively at *Geo.* 1, 409 or 2, 427, and *Aen.* 7, 742; p. 173, 33-9, beginning *Aen.* 1, 742; p. 182, 36-43, beginning *Ecl.* 8, 16; p. 184, 28-31, beginning *Geo.* 1, 279; p. 186, 10-13, beginning *Aen.* 1, 355; p. 187, 5-8, beginning *Aen.* 1, 1; p. 192, 1-14, omitting 11, and beginning *Geo.* 3, 59. This last section shows traces of reshuffling.

Even this list of batches does not exhaust my material. But from what has been given it is clear that Virgil notes must have formed a very large part of the constituents of Abolita. My article, of course, does not claim to be exhaustive, for I have not aimed at sweeping into my net every possible Virgil-gloss.

Two questions remain for discussion, and these I shall deal with as briefly as possible:

Was the *Appendix Vergiliana* used? The answer, in the absence of certain examples from the *App. Verg.*, must be in the negative. I have not come across any such example in proximity to a Virgil-batch. This result is not to be wondered at, since there are strong reasons for believing that Abol. is of Spanish origin (v. *Class. Quart.* Vol. XI. 3, 'The Abstrusa Glossary and the Liber Glossarum').

Again, were the marginalia used the scholia or extracts from the scholia of Servius, Donatus, and others? Here too a negative answer must be given. The general verdict will be that they are more or less trivial interpretations. I have compared many of the glosses of Abol. with the commentary of Servius and 'Servius auctus,' but have found no conclusive proof that the compiler of Abol. used these commentaries. Resemblances between them there are, and this fact has no doubt induced Goetz to make many references to Servius in the case of Abol. glosses. But his references are unwarranted: the resemblances are natural, the explanations in each case being the inevitable explanations of the text.

It remains for me to record my indebtedness to Professor Lindsay, who suggested the investigation, and who has given me invaluable help all the time I have been engaged on it. For his criticisms and hints my warmest thanks are due.

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ANTH. LAT. RIES. 678.

THIS poem, first printed by Scaliger in his *Ausonianae lectiones*, lib. II c. 29, from a MS in the possession of Cuiacius, will also be found in Burman's *anthologia Latina*, vol. II p. 321, in Meyer's, no. 1032, and in Baehrens' *poetae Latini minores*, vol. V p. 350. In date, combining as it does the prosody of *plānetae* with the syntax of *sex* (for *sexiens*) *denos*, it can hardly be earlier than Prudentius and may easily be much later. It is edited by Riese from eight MSS better than the Cuiacian, three of the 9th century, three of the 10th, one of the 11th, and one of the 12th: the best of these, and the only one of which he professes to give a full collation, is C, Aug. 167 at Karlsruhe.

The texts of Scaliger, Burman, and Meyer are corrupted by the false readings of the Cuiacian MS, and all five texts are corrupted by conjecture. All of them desert the MSS in two verses, some of them in more; in every one of these cases the MS reading is true or at least unimpeachable, the alteration useless or even false; and the editors' explanations, where they make bold to give any, are no more serviceable than their conjectures.

The text which I present below contains nothing but what is found in the MSS or at least in some one MS: my own innovations are merely typographical, a comma in verse 5 and a capital letter in verse 10. This text is intelligible from beginning to end, and every detail of its astronomy, even when false, can be confirmed from other sources.

bis sex signiferae numerantur sidera sphaerae,	
per quae planetae dicuntur currere septem.	
Polluris proles ter denis uoluitur annis.	
fulmina dispergens duodenis lustrat aristis.	
bellipotens genitor, mensum pensare bilibri.	5
in medio mundi fertur Phaethontia flamma	
ter centum soles, sex denos, quinque, quadrantem.	
ter senas partes ex his, Cytherea, retorques	
lustrando totum praeclaro lumine mundum;	
terque dies ternos puro de Vespere tollens	10
sermonis domini completur circulus anni.	
horas octo, dies ternos seruato nouenos,	
proxima telluri dum curris, candida Phoebe.	

The verses purport to give the times occupied by the Sun and Moon and the five planets in performing their revolutions. For antiquity in general the

times of the five planets were fixed by Eudoxus, whose figures are recorded by Simplicius in his commentary on Aristotle's *de caelo*, ed. Heiberg. p. 495 ll. 26-8: Saturn 30 years, Jupiter 12 years, Mars 2 years, Venus 1 year, Mercury 1 year. They reappear, for example, in Theon Smyrnaeus *astr.* c. 12 (p. 136 Hiller), Achill. *isag.* 18, Stob. *ecl.* I 8 42°, Plut. *placit.* II 32, Cic. *n. d.* II 52 sq., Macr. *somm. Scip.* I 19 3. For Venus and Mercury they are correct; for Saturn and Jupiter and Mars the round numbers are somewhat in excess of the truth.

The seven planets are usually ranged in the order of their supposed distances from the earth, and the order here assigned them is the Chaldaean order, which, though disturbed by the earliest Greek astronomers, regained authority later and is observed in most of the ancient accounts, as for instance Gemin. I 24-30, Cleom. I 3 (16 sq.), Cens. *de d. nat.* 13, Claud. III *cons. Hon.* 164-8, Apoll. Sid. *carm.* 15 61-6, anth. Lat. Ries. 786^b and 798: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon.

1. If *sphaerae* here meant the zodiac it would be incorrectly used, for the zodiac is not a sphere but a circle. There is however no need to give the word this sense, nor yet to adopt the *sphaerae* of some MSS and interpret it as *spira*. *sphaera* is simply the sky: the words which mean the zodiac are *signifera sphaera*, that is *sphaerae pars signifera*. Lucan has *signifer polus* in the same sense at III 254, and Ammianus at XXVI 1 8 interprets the phrase, '*polo percurso signifero, quem ζῳδιακὸν sermo Graecus appellat*': it is like *pomifero anno* for *anni parte pomifera*, the autumn, in Hor. *carm.* III 23 8. The word *signum*, though applicable to any constellation, is often appropriated to the twelve constellations of the zodiac, as is *stella* to the five (or seven) planets: Seneca for example in *dial.* XII 6 7 says '*sol . . . per omnes signorum partes discurrit*,' which is true only of the zodiacal signs; and the adjective *signifer* is subject to the same restriction of meaning.

3. The theme of this verse must be the first planet, Saturn, and the time which it mentions, 30 years, is the time of Saturn's revolution; but in place of Saturn's name the greater part of the MSS and all the editors give *Pollucis proles*. Hereupon Meyer says 'i. e. Saturnus,' and Riese says 'Saturnum dicit,' and they say no more; and neither Burman nor Baehrens says anything. But how can *Pollucis proles* signify Saturn? Saturn indeed was no model of the domestic virtues; he was a bad son, a bad husband, and a bad father; but he is not on that account to be charged with the unheard-of enormity of being his own great-grandchild. Well might he devour his offspring, if this was to be the consequence of letting them live. Scaliger refers us to Fulgentius *myth.* I 2, and there indeed we find '*Saturnus Pollucis filius dicitur, . . . Pollucis . . . filius siue a pollendo siue a pollucibilitate quam nos humanitatem dicimus, . . . Pollucis quasi poli filium dicunt*,' but we find it only in the less good and ancient of the two families of MSS: the other in all three places has *Polluris*. And so in our verse *Polluris* is the reading of the best MS and of one or two more. Again in Mai's *mythographi Vaticani* (*class. auct.* vol. III) we have I 102 '*Saturnus Pollucis filius dicitur*,' III 1 9 '*Saturnum Pollucis filium*

refert Fulgentius,' 2 6 'Saturnum . . . *Pollucis* filium . . . dicunt,' but in each case with the variant *Polluris*; and in II 1 we have 'Saturnus Caeli uel *Polluris* filius' without the variant *Pollucis*.

If *Polluris* has eight times supplanted *Pollucis* it is very strange: strange not merely because *Pollux* and its cases are familiar words, but because only the genitive case is thus corrupted, and only in a certain connexion. It is always dependent on a word meaning 'son,' and that son is always Saturn. But what then is this name *Polluris*, unknown to lexicographers and existing only in the genitive? It is a name like *Boadicea*, a name never borne by the person whom it is meant to designate, and owing its origin simply to a chance corruption of two letters in a MS. Who were Saturn's parents? His father was Caelus and his mother was Terra, whose name is also Tellus and whose genitive is then *Telluris*. In some MS of some author who had called Saturn *Telluris filius* the name was ill written or defaced, and was deciphered as *Polluris* by some reader who was himself an author and who therefore had good opportunity to propagate his error. This has already been half-perceived by Mai and Bode at myth. Vat. I 102: 'scriberem *Telluris* nisi alibi scirem dictum filium *Pollucis*'; 'error satis antiquus est, quo *Pollucem* pro *Tellure* acceperunt.'

4. 'The scatterer of thunderbolts (Jupiter) makes the circuit in twelve summers.' *bis sex sidera* is perhaps to be supplied from above as object to the verb; but even to take *lustrat* absolutely would be better than to adopt with Burman and Meyer Scaliger's proposal *duodenas* . . . *aristas*, which yields no proper sense.

5. *bellipotens genitor* is *Mars pater*; and then follows *mensum pensare bilibri*. The *thes. ling. Lat.* II p. 1986 8 calls this 'uersus corruptus', and none of the editors can interpret it. Scaliger writes *bilibre*, which makes no difference¹; Burman and Meyer accept *mensum* from a cod. Petauanus and then pronounce the words corrupt, Burman in his addenda proposing *pensatque*, which is unintelligible to me in default of explanation; Riese marks the loss of two half-verses after *genitor*, but does not suggest what they contained. Baehrens, adopting the conjectures of Burman and of Scaliger, wrote '*bellipotens genitor mensum pensatque bilibre*': if he meant *bilibrem*, that would be capable of the required sense; but *que* is thus three places removed from its proper seat and superfluous into the bargain, and the required sense is already given by the reading of the MSS.

bellipotens genitor is vocative, like *Cytherea* in 8 and *Phoebe* in 13; *pensare* is 2nd pers. sing. pres. indic. passive; and the words literally mean 'father Mars, you weigh a couple of pounds of months', which signifies that the time of the revolution of Mars is two years. The brachylogy by which a planet is mentioned instead of a planet's revolution will recur in verse 10 and is exactly like the use of *sol* for *annus* in Manil. III 547 and Nemes. *cyn.* 122. *pensari*

¹ *bilibre* is the ablative used by the other writers (all of them late) who make *bilibris* a substantive; but *bilibri* cannot be deemed incorrect in view of *bipenni* and *biremi*.

with the ablative signifies equivalence whether literal or figurative: Sen. *ep.* 73 5 'auro pensanda', Ouid. *met.* XIII 372 'titulum meritis pensandum . . . nostris'. The analogy between the pound with its 12 ounces and the year with its 12 months is a subject of remark in the metrological writers, Isid. *orig.* XVI 25 20 'libra duodecim unciis perficitur, et inde habetur perfecti ponderis genus quia tot constat unciis quot mensibus annus', *carm. de pond.* (anth. Lat. Ries. 486) 28 'unciaque in libra pars est quae mensis in anno'; and they even declare that *libra* can stand for *annus*, Hultsch. *metrol. script.* II p. 139 19-21 (Lach. *gromat. uet.* p. 374 6-8) 'libra dicitur quicquid per duodenarii numeri perfectionem adimpletur. nam libra dici potest annus, qui constat ex IV temporibus et XII mensibus', Auson. 368 27 sq. (Peip. p. 95) 'ponderis et numeri morumque operumque et aquarum | libra; nec est modulus, quem non hoc nomine signes'. *bilibris mensum* therefore is two years, as many months as there are ounces in two pounds.

6. *in medio mundi* describes the position of the Sun in this arrangement of the planets: he is fourth, and therefore midmost of the seven. Cleom. I 3 (17) ὑπὸ τοῦτον (τὸν τοῦ Ἄρεως) ὁ ἥλιος ὑπονοεῖται, μέσος ὑπάρχων τῶν ἄλλων, Cic. *de r. p.* VI 17 (4) 'mediam fere regionem Sol optinet'. *Phaethontia flamma*, though the Sun is *Phaethon* in Verg. *Aen.* V 105 and *ora Phaethontia* means the Sun's countenance in Sil. X 110, is not here a well-chosen name for the Sun; for *Phaethon* is likewise the name of the planet Jupiter, and *Phaethontius ardor* has that sense in anth. Lat. Ries. 786^b 7. Still less happy is the use of *soles* for *dies* in the next verse, when the Sun himself is the theme of discourse.

7. *sex denos*, sexaginta. Two examples of this solecism, cardinal number for numerical adverb, are cited in Neue's *Formenlehre* vol. II p. 342 ed. 3, and there is a fourth in anth. Lat. Ries. 761 2 'in septem quinis . . . signis' (where by the way *quinis* should be corrected to *senis*, since the constellations are 42, not 35). In this connexion I have a word to say on the *thesaurus linguae Latinae*. That lexicon is not unacquainted with this poem, which it calls by no fewer than three different names: '*anth.* 678' in vol. II p. 1986 7, '*carm. de XII signis* (it should be *VII planetis*) *poet. min.* V p. 350 3' *ibid.* p. 580 45, and, stranger still, '*Maxim. eleg.* 3' in vol. V p. 1408 49, though it is neither Maximian's nor an elegy. In the article on *deni*, vol. V pp. 525 sq., the last section, 2 c, is headed 'multiplicatiue, plerumque cum *bis*, *ter*, *quater*': examples (with two wrong references) are given of all three, and then we are bidden to note two instances of *nouies denos* and one of *uicies milies dena*, all of which are quite normal; but this much more noteworthy instance of *sex denos* is not registered. At the beginning of the article, p. 525 58-60, there is a profession of enumerating the examples of the singular number: 'singularis: Diom. *gramm.* I 498 24, Ambr. *hymn.* 67 3, *anth.* 680^a 15, 798 5, Veg. *mil.* 3 15 Cypr. Gall. *Ios.* 438, *gloss.* (ter)'. This list omits at least five instances, and among them the earliest, though they are all cited by Neue vol. II p. 335 ed. 3: Sil. XV 259 'ter dena boue', Stat. *silu.* V 5 24 'ter dena luce', Ser. Samm. 1065 'bis denum rutae folium', C. I. L. VI 504 (*carm. epigr.* Buech. 264 1) 'uota

Faentinus bis deni suscipit orbis', IX 4756 (carm. epigr. 409 3) 'bis deno circite solis'. Furthermore it includes, jumbled up with the rest, two examples of a usage which the article nowhere mentions or recognises, *denus* as an ordinal; for *denam* in anth. 680^a 15 means *decimam* and *denus* in Cypr. Gall. Ios. 438 means *decimus*.

Professor Lindsay says in *C. Q.* XI p. 41 that with the help of the *thesaurus* Latin scholarship is now becoming easy, and that textual emendation will become equally easy when certain advances have been made in palaeography. No advance in palaeography will ever make textual emendation easy, because textual emendation depends much less on palaeography than on several other things, the chief of which is the textual emendator; and for a like reason Latin scholarship will never be made easy by any dictionary,¹ much less by such a dictionary as this. In present circumstances I think it right to add that the article on *deni* is not of German manufacture and might be better if it were: it is contributed to the *thesaurus* by its American editor.

8. *ter senas partes his Cytherea retorques* is the MS tradition, but *Cythêrea* is a scansion of which even this poet can hardly have been guilty: the Oxford MS (saec. XI) gives <ex> *his*, and this, though probably a conjecture, is probably true: Riese's *his* <tu> is inferior, and the <plus> *his* of the Cuiacian MS is absurd.

What the words must convey is the time of the revolution of Venus; and hereupon Meyer observes 'Venus conficit orbem diebus 224. uersus corruptus'. This wise remark is echoed by Riese, who augments its wisdom from his own store: 'corruptus: possis *ter quinas his partes*; nam Venus circiter in $\frac{3}{8}$ temporis Terrae (224 diebus) Solem circuit'. On the metre of this conjecture I say nothing, as *his partes* is probably a slip of the pen for *partes his*; and on its Latinity I only observe in passing that the Latin for $\frac{3}{8}$ is *tres quintas*, and that *ter quinas* is Latin not for $\frac{3}{8}$ but for 15. The point on which I dwell is the statement of both scholars that the time of Venus' revolution is 224 days. 224 days, as Riese in his innocence blurts out, is the time of her revolution round the Sun. These well-intentioned but ill-instructed editors, in hopes of finding out what number this verse might be expected to contain, have resorted to some handbook of modern astronomy: modern, and therefore Copernican and heliocentric. The astronomy of this poem is ancient astronomy, Ptolemaic and geocentric, and with Venus' revolution round the Sun it has no concern: this verse contains the time of her revolution round the Earth. Now the mean time of Venus' revolution, and of Mercury's too, is necessarily the same as the Sun's, 365 $\frac{1}{4}$ days, though a single and particular revolution of either may exceed that time or fall short of it within certain limits; and this, as I have already said, was the teaching of Eudoxus and the general opinion of antiquity. The case is perhaps best put by Theon p. 136 Φωσφόρος δὲ καὶ Στίλβων καθ' ἑκάστα μὲν ἀνωμάλως (τὸν τῶν ζῳδίων κύκλον διέρχονται), ὀλίγον παραλλάττοντες

¹ 'I will allow the publisher of a dictionary to know the meaning of a single word, but not of two words put together' said Pope.

τοῖς χρόνοις, ὡς δὲ τὸ ὅλον εἰπεῖν ἰσόδρομοι Ἡλίου εἰσὶν, ἀεὶ περὶ τοῦτον ὁρώμενοι. But Meyer and Riese are not alone in their confusion: Cornewall Lewis in his *Astronomy of the Ancients* p. 155 says of Eudoxus' figures 'the error with respect to Venus and Mercury is considerable', and thinks to show the magnitude of that error by giving the Copernican figures, 224 days 16 hours and 87 days 23 hours; W. Ramsay and A. S. Wilkins in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities* vol. II p. 433 ed. 3 repeat the blunder and the slander; and Joseph Mayor in his note on Cic. *n. d.* II 52 p. 154 compares Eudoxus' and Vitruvius' figures with Herschel's, as if they could be expected to agree.

But the true opinion concerning the times of Venus and Mercury, though general in antiquity, was not universal, and evidently it was not held by the author of this poem. Let us see then what other opinions were in circulation. The time of Venus is 336 days in schol. Arat. 455, 300 days and a few over in Mart. Cap. VIII § 882, while Vitruvius IX 19 gives the ample sum of 485 days: none of these can be reconciled with the wording of our verse. But there was another false opinion more widely diffused than any of them: that the time of Venus was 348 days and the time of Mercury 339. This is stated by Pliny *n. h.* II 38 sq. and repeated in schol. Germ. Breys. pp. 184 and 228, and it reappears in anth. Lat. Ries. 798 9 sq., though the number for Mercury has there been corrupted either by the scribe or by the poet. These, it appears, are the times given by our author. Subtract 18 days from the solar year, says he, and you have the time of Venus; subtract 9 from that, and you have the time of Mercury. Now he has stated the solar year as $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, and if he is subtracting from the nearest round number, 365, his figures for Venus and Mercury will be one less than Pliny's, 347 and 338: the number first subtracted should have been 17. But 17 is a much less easy number to mention in Latin hexameters than 18, and it seems that instead of subtracting 17 from the nearest round number to $365\frac{1}{4}$ he takes leave to subtract 18 from the next nearest, the 366 days of leap-year. If so, his figures for Venus and Mercury both will be those of Pliny.

ter senas ex his retorques must signify 'you subtract 18 from this number': the literal translation is 'you turn back (or away) 18 out of these', so that the total is shortened by that amount. The usual names for subtraction are *demere deducere detrahere*, often with *ex* c. abl. added, but compounds of *re* are also employed: *removere* by Horace *art.* 327 sq. 'si de quincunce *remota* est | uncia, quid superat?', *retrahere* by Ausonius 396 14 (Peip. p. 250) 'Priamidæ quot erant, si bis bini *retrahantur*' (i.e. $50 - 20 = 30$). *retorquere* itself is given an arithmetical sense in verse 23 of the same epistle, 'in se *retortas* explicabo summulas', where the 'summulae in se *retortae*' are various artificial modes of saying *triginta*, such as 'duc binas decies semelque denas', though only one of them involves subtraction, 'octonas quater, hinc duae *recedant*'.

10. The only editorial comment on this verse is Riese's: 'cum Mercurii cursus sit 87 dierum, *dies terni* fortasse intellegendi sunt cuiusque mensis kalendae nonae idus'. That Mercury's revolution of 87 days round the Sun has

nothing to do with the matter I have already said; and what shadow of sense has 'circulus Mercurii tollens kalendas nonas idus puro de uespere'? *uespere* should be *Vespere*: *puro Vespere* is the clear evening star, as in Hor. *carm.* III 19 26 '*puro te similem, Telephe, Vespere*'; and Vesper is identical with the Cytherea of verse 8. The words mean 'subtracting nine days from Venus', that is from Venus' revolution: $348 - 9 = 339$. Pliny states the time of Mercury just in the same way, by subtracting 9 from 348: *n.h.* II 36-9 '*sidus . . . Veneris . . . signiferi . . . ambitum peragit trecentis et duodequingenis diebus . . . proximum illi Mercurii sidus . . . inferiore circulo fertur nouem diebus ocioire ambitu*'.

11. This verse is altered by every editor except Burman. Scaliger wrote *Semonis dii* for *sermonis domini* and *anno* for *anni*. *anno* would be plausible if the verse had no context, for Mercury does in fact complete his circle in a year; but this poet thought otherwise, and has said so in the verse above. *Semonis* is accepted by Meyer, Riese, and Baehrens, though they prefer *diui* to Scaliger's *dii*; and they seem to take on trust his assertion that *Semo* can mean Mercury, though he makes no more than a feint of supporting it: '*Semo autem uocatur Mercurius, quia fere in infimis collocatus est; quemadmodum Semones uocabant eos deos qui in infimis censebantur, maiores scilicet hominibus, minores deis*'. On the other hand *sermonis dominus*, lord or master of language, does properly designate Mercury, who in C. I. L. VI 520 (*carm. epigr.* 1528) is twice called '*sermonis dator*', and says of himself '*sermonem docui mortales*'. See also Diod. Sic. I 16 1 ὑπὸ γὰρ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν τήν τε κοινὴν διάλεκτον διαρθρωθῆναι καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἀνωνύμων τυχεῖν προσηγορίας, V 75 2 εὔρετὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ λεξέων γενόμενον, ὥς τινὲς φασιν, Nonn. *Dion.* XXVI 284 γλώσσης ἡγεμονῆα, σοφῆς ἰθύντορα φωνῆς, Orph. *hymn.* XXVIII 4 λόγου θνητοῖσι προφήτα, Hor. *carm.* I 10 1-3 '*Mercuri facunde, . . . qui feros cultus hominum recentum | uoce formasti*', Ouid. *fast.* V 668 '*quo didicit culte lingua docente loqui*', schol. Germ. Breys. p. 229 '*Mercurii stella, a qua se linguam et sapientiam percipere arbitrabantur.*' The translation is therefore 'the complete circle of the year of the lord of language is formed by taking away nine days from that of the evening star'.

ἐνιαυτός in Greek is used to signify the circuit of a planet, e.g. Plut. *placit.* II 32 1 ἐνιαυτός ἐστι Κρόνου μὲν ἐνιαυτῶν περίοδος τριάκοντα, and so is *annus* in Latin. As the *thesaurus* (with whose help Latin scholarship is becoming easy to Mr Lindsay) ignores this usage totally, I give examples. Cic. *Arat.* 232 '*haec (quinque stellae) faciunt magnos longinqui temporis annos*' (= *Arat.* 458 μακροὶ δὲ σφεῶν εἰσιν ἐλισσομένων ἐνιαυτοί), Lucr. V 643 sq. '*stellae . . . quae uolunt magnos in magnis orbibus annos*', Macr. *somn.* *Scip.* II 11 5 '*singulorum seu luminum seu stellarum emenso omni caeli circuitu a certo loco in eundem locum reditus annus suus est*', 6 '*sic mensis Lunae annus est*', 7 '*Martis uero annus fere biennium tenet*', 11 '*annus Lunae mensis est et annus Solis duodecim menses et aliarum stellarum hi sunt anni quos supra rettulimus*', *Sat.* I 14 4 '*lunaris annus mensis est . . . Lunae annus*'.

breuis,' Seru. *Aen.* III 284 'lunarem annum triginta dierum': in one MS the title of our poem is 'uersus de annis planetarum.' Not all these references are absent from the *thesaurus*: some of them will be found in a wrong place and under a false interpretation, I 6 *annus magnus, maximus, mundanus* (ca. 25800 anni). The peculiar and technical use of *annus* in Firm. *math.* II 11 was sure to escape lexicographers, as the corresponding use of *ἔτος* in Greek has escaped them.

12. The time of the Moon's revolution (sidereal of course, not synodic¹) is given as 27 days 8 hours by Geminus I 30, Theon p. 136, Pliny *n. h.* II 44, and this is only 17 minutes in excess of the truth. Since *terni deni* is 13, *terni noueni* should by rights be 12 if it were anything; but it is clear that the distributive *ternos* in here misapplied like the cardinal *sex* in verse 7 and stands for the adverb *ter*. Neue cites no example of this particular abuse, and I have observed no other; for in Plaut. *Bacch.* 1050 '*binos ducentos* Philippos iam intus ecferam' the meaning is not 400, *bis ducentos*, but separate sums of 200 each, as the next words show: 'et militi quos dudum promisi miser | et istos.'

I append a still worse poem on the same subject, anth. Lat. Ries. 798 (poet. Lat. min. Baehr. vol. V p. 382), which also stands in some need of annotation. It is preserved in one MS of the 13th century, Paris. 7461, and was printed first by L. Angeloni in 1811 and again by Orelli on p. 242 of his *Phaedrus* in 1832.

signifer aethereus, mundus quo cingitur omnis,
astra tenet tantum se sede mouentia septem,
caetera nam proprio stant semper in ordine fixa.
Saturni sidus summa concurrit in arce
ter denoque suus completur tempore cursus. 5
inde Iouis cursus bis senis uoluitur annis
et Mars quingentis rubeus quadraginta diebus.
ast uno Solis completur circulus anno.
trecentis Venus octo et quadraginta diebus,
Mercurius centum triginta nouemque diebus, 10
bis denis septemque diebus Luna peragrans
octo horisque simul proprium sic conficit orbem.

The times here assigned to Saturn, Jupiter, Venus, and the Moon are the same as in the other poem, and when Orelli in verse 11 alters *septemque diebus* into *septem atque duobus* he substitutes an incorrect statement of the synodic revolution for a correct statement of the sidereal. The *concurrit* of verse 4, unless the metre has forced it on a poetaster who only wanted to say *currit*, may be meant for *una currit* (cum fixis astris); for though it is not true that Saturn actually keeps pace with the fixed stars, it is true that he falls behind them much less rapidly than the other planets: Mart. Cap. VIII § 853

¹ This parenthesis is not unnecessary, for Sir Norman Lockyer in his *Primer of Astronomy* confounds the two, and says on p. 61 that the Moon

is overtaken by the Sun every 27½ days. The mean synodic time is in truth more than 29½ days.

'Saturnus nimia cum mundo celeritate concertans uix exiguis cursibus superatur.' The *thes. ling. Lat.*,—ecce iterum Crispinus,—quotes the verse in company with Manil. I 613 '(alter limes) aduerso concurrit rursus in axe,' which it misconstrues as the editors of Manilius used to do, not perceiving that *aduerso* is dative, and with Filastr. 133 3 'concurrere atque discurrere sidera,' where *concurrere* has a plural subject and means *concurrere inter se*.

But the times assigned to Mars and Mercury are new and strange. In verse 7 the word *rubeus* is neither to be altered with Baehrens and Ziehen nor marked as corrupt with Riese, for the Latin scholia in Maass' *comm. in Arat.* p. 274 1 have 'tertia autem Mars, *rubea*' where the Greek of Erat. *catast.* 43 is ὁ δὲ τρίτος Ἀρεως. Πυρόεις δὲ καλεῖται. But 540 days is a long way short of the two years commonly attributed to Mars by the ancients. Two years are 730 days, and this number might be obtained by writing

Mars septingentis rubeus triginta diebus.

Ciphers are so easily confused that the change of the numerals is much less violent than it seems; the initial *et* has *sic* for a variant, and both may be metrical interpolations. But first let us look round for other estimates of this planet's time. The modern calculation is 687 days, and Vitruvius IX 1 10 comes very near it with 683; 720 is the figure in Hyg. *astr.* IV 14 (p. 117 Bunte), 724 in Cic. *n. d.* II 53, 2 years 5 months (about 882) in Cleom. I 3 (17), 2½ years (say 913) in Gemin. I 26, and 9 years in schol. Germ. Breys. pp. 183 and 222, which is so extravagant that it probably arises from a scribe's error of IX for II. But a contrast to these excessive rates is presented by schol. Arat. 455 (Maass pp. 427 sq.) τὸν δὲ Ἀρεα εἰς ἕκαστον ζῳδιον (ποιεῖν φασιν) ἡμέρας μὲ καὶ τὸν πάντα κύκλον ἀνύειν εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ μῆνας δ'. This is both false and self-contradictory, for the proposition that $45 \times 12 = 485$ (or thereabouts) is not arithmetically sound. A rough correspondence may be brought about either by changing the 45 days to 40 (μ᾽ to μ') or the 4 months to 6 (δ' to ς'), and the latter is the better because the less remote from fact. $45 \times 12 = 540$; and 540 is the number given in our verse. The coincidence may be a pure accident, but it puts a scruple in the way of altering the text.

In verse 10 the time of Mercury is said to be 139 days, which is nowhere near the truth and was not even, so far as I am aware, among the false opinions of antiquity. Now the time assigned to Venus in the verse above is the time of Pliny and the other poem, 348 days: the time which they assign to Mercury is 339 days; and it is natural to suspect that in our number of 139 the 1 ought to be 3. Perhaps then *Mercurius* is a gloss on some shorter name of the planet and has ousted the adverb from a verse of this sort,

Stilbon (or Arcas) ter centum triginta nouemque diebus.

But it is hard to prescribe limits to the ignorance or error of such a poet as this, and it deserves note that he calls all the other planets by the names which we ourselves usually attach to them.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

CICERONIAN AND HERACLEAN *PROFESSIONES*.

PERHAPS the most difficult part of the famous inscription from Heraclea (around which so many controversies have raged) is the opening section of the extant text,¹ where from a given form of procedure it is required to determine the subject matter. A solution of this puzzling problem, which I proposed some months ago,² has recently been made the subject of an interesting article in this journal by Dr. E. G. Hardy.³ Mr. Hardy has long been engaged in this field, and has rendered much useful service. In this article, however, he seems to be interested in my views chiefly in their relation to his own theory. This is apparent in his agreements with me. For example, one aim of my study was to identify the *professiones* of Cicero's letters *ad Att.* xiii. 33, 1,⁴ and *ad Fam.* xvi. 23, 1,⁵ with those provided for in the first section of the inscription. It appeared that the returns mentioned by Cicero were registrations of property, that they were to be made yearly, and that they had their prototype in the annual property census of Egypt. It also seemed clear that Caesar's *recensus populi* of 46⁶ was modelled on the Egyptian *κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή*. With these preliminary conclusions (by no means unimportant in themselves) Mr. Hardy is not unwilling to agree. He even goes so far as to say that I have made a good case for 'a new system of *professiones* somehow relating to property and introduced in 46.' He thinks too that the settlement of the frumentations as a part of a more comprehensive legislative scheme (as my view implies) would be most appropriate. So far so good, but when it comes to the vital point of admitting a connection between these matters and vv. 1-19 of the Tablet he draws back as if from some fatal step.

One of the reasons for this reluctant attitude (apparently the chief one, being reserved till the last) is the supposed difficulty of getting the *professiones* on file. If they were really property returns, and the means by which Caesar reduced the list of those sharing in free grain from 320,000 to 150,000, Mr. Hardy maintains it would have been physically impossible to handle them in a year, 'as it is clear that only one magistrate at a time received the returns.' It is hard to believe that this is meant in sober earnest, since no one should know better than Mr. Hardy that

¹ Vv. 1-19, Bruns' *Fontes*, 7th ed., pp. 102-3. The inscription as a whole I regard as the extant portion of the *lex Iulia Municipalis*, but of course this is not assumed in the argument without proof.

² 'The *Professiones* of the Heraclean Tablet,' *Jour. Rom. Stud.*, vol. v. pp. 125-137 (1915).

³ In the January number. Mr. Hardy's article came late to my notice. This circumstance, together with the pressure of other duties and the fact that California is at a considerable distance from London, has delayed my rejoinder unduly.

⁴ 'O negligentiam miram! semelne putas mihi dixisse Balbum et Faberium professionem relatum? qui etiam eorum iussu miserim qui

profiteretur; ita enim oportere dicebant. professus est Philotimus libertus. nosti, credo librarium. sed scribes et quidem confectum.'

⁵ 'Tu uero confice professionem si potes; etsi haec pecunia ex eo genere est ut professione non egeat, uerum tamen!'

⁶ Suetonius *Caes.* 41: 'Recensum populi nec more nec loco solito sed uicatim per dominos insularum egit; atque ex uiginti trecentisque milibus accipientium frumentum e publico ad centum quinquaginta retraxit; ac ne qui noui coetus recensionis causa moueri quandoque possent, instituit quotannis in demortuorum locum ex iis qui non recensenti essent, subsortitio a praetore fieret.'

when a law requires returns of this character to be made *ad consulem*,¹ it does not mean that the consul personally received and inspected them. Such an idea of Roman administration would be grotesque. In the first place, as mere Latin, *profiteri ad consulem* does not mean to deliver a return to a consul. The text itself takes pains to interchange *ad* with *apud*,² and the kind of relation intended is that indicated by Varro³ when he says: 'unde (sc. populum) uocare posset ad contionem, non solum ad consules et censores, sed etiam quaestores;' that is, *ad consulem* signifies under the presidency or direction or administration or supervision of the consul. The returns themselves in schedule form would be received and inspected (as in our own practice) by an army of clerks, with which we know the Roman government was provided.⁴ In this case the consul exercised a general oversight, and to him were submitted matters of difficulty. These (on my view) were sure to arise inasmuch as the law seems to have contained exemptions.⁵ Even Cicero in the letter to Tiro,⁶ besides giving an impression of the difficulty of filling out the schedule (greater of course in case of the better to do) was uncertain whether a particular piece of property should be registered. It was necessary, therefore, that some responsible official should be at hand, and it made no great difference whether he was consul, praetor, or tribune. The routine labour was doubtless performed by the same clerical staff in each case, the only difference being the magistrate in whose technical presence, that is, under whose supervision, it was done, and who acted as arbiter in cases of doubt. Mr. Hardy's nightmare of a consul giving 'twelve hours' attendance on each of the 212 days' and having 'less than a minute for each *professio*,' would thus seem to be as unsubstantial as nightmares usually are.

The *profidentes* are a worry to Mr. Hardy in another way in that they comprise (for a given year) a definite number, say 170,000, and if this be subtracted from the total citizen population of 320,000 which 'the *recensus* had already given,' the remainder instead of being a selective maximum would be 'a mere residue.' How then could there be vacancies in such a number, that needed to be filled by the praetor's *subsortitio*? In the first place, it is a misapprehension that I regarded the *recensus* as showing a total citizen population of 320,000. This was the number of *accipientes* before Caesar undertook his reform, and as people generally availed themselves of free corn, it represented 'approximately' (as I said) the citizens of Rome at the time.⁷ How near Caesar's enumeration came to this total I have no means of knowing precisely. Doubtless the difference was not very great. In the second place the 170,000 is itself an inference. There would of course be just so many *profidentes* in a year, but all that can be known of the exact number is that which results from the deduction of those receiving grain from the state. But let us assume a fixed maximum for the *accipientes* together with a known and definite number of citizens and of those making the yearly returns of property. The question is how can the proper balance with respect to the *accipientes* be preserved. There would seem to be only two possibilities, one a reduction of the maximum through an increase in the number of property owners, which from Caesar's standpoint would

¹ See the text in Bruns' *Fontes*, pp. 102-3 (7th ed.).

² v. 13.

³ *Ling. Lat.* vi. 90. Cf. v. 18: 'quorum nomina h. l. ad cos. pr. tr. pl. in tabula in albo proposita erunt.' Mr. Hardy's error infects his translation.

⁴ Varro, *ibid.* vi. 87.

⁵ I do not mean that this was the only kind of difficulty that would arise, but it seems to have been an old one. Compare the phrase *censui*

censendo, and the case mentioned by Cicero in *pro Flacco* 79-80. See also Greenidge, *Legal Procedure*, p. 182; Marquardt, *Staatverwaltung* ii. p. 212 sq. (French edition); and Naber, 'de Iure Romano,' *Mnemosyne* xxiv. 164.

⁶ *Fam.* xvi. 23, 1.

⁷ Mr. Hardy is inclined to reproach me for thinking that participation in the free corn was so nearly universal, and yet (if I understand him) he identifies the *accipientes* with the total citizen population in Caesar's *recensus*.

be a desirable result. On the other hand, if the owners of property decreased in number, the maximum would remain the same, but there would come into existence a class eligible for public aid and not receiving it. I hardly think Caesar, with his great plans and hopes for the future, took much account of this possibility, or, if he did, he could view with equanimity the exclusion of these economic failures from the list. If, however, through unfavourable circumstances, this class became large, and it seemed expedient to deal with it, the maximum could be increased. And this (curiously enough) is precisely what happened. After the long struggle following the death of Caesar, with its terrible proscription and the concentration of property in fewer hands, it is not surprising to find on the testimony of Augustus himself that the number given grain at the public expense had increased to somewhat more than 200,000,¹ although personally he was strongly in favour of abolishing these *frumentationes publicae* altogether.² This increase of the *accipientes* to 200,000 in face of the personal attitude of Augustus, and the virtually certain decrease in the number of property holders, are indications that the principle at least of Caesar's law had been retained.³

Again, Mr. Hardy is much concerned over the relation of the *profidentes* in my scheme to the yearly vacancies caused by death in the list of the 150,000. These were to be filled by lot from those *qui non recensenti essent*,⁴ concerning whose identity a question at once arises. Mr. Hardy fears that in my view they were only another name for the *profidentes*, and that eligibles for the vacancies must come from the latter source. Accordingly he exhorts me (as he did Legras⁵) to tell him who the *non recensenti* really were. Having no desire to deprive him of this valuable information I will answer at once: The *non recensenti* are to be understood in the light of the *incensi*. These comprised the class who for one reason or another had not made the return to the censor, and in Livy⁶ it is said that even under the monarchy there were stringent laws against intentional delinquents. The word, then, as denoting those omitted from the censor's list, was perfectly familiar, and with it in mind a Roman would instinctively interpret *non recensenti* as those omitted from the *recensus*. As I understand this to be an enumeration of the citizen population of the city, the *non recensenti* will be specifically the citizens who were not included. As the count was taken by an altogether new method, and doubtless on a given day,⁷ it is not surprising that there should be numerous omissions. It is from these omitted persons that the vacancies in the frumentations were to be filled.

It may be said that among those not enrolled there must have been many owners of property, and that to fill vacancies from these is contrary to hypothesis. Let us see just how valid this objection is. Suetonius⁸ has told us enough about the *recensus* (he could not be expected to give all the particulars) to show that it was carried out after the Egyptian fashion—a fact which Mr. Hardy himself admits. This makes it certain that the officials had the assistance not only of the owners of the *insulae* but also of those of private houses, these being required in each case to prepare a list of persons having their abode in the building. But the owner of an *insula* might not know (or take the trouble to find out) the names of all the persons living in his tenement, so that while from this method we should have a practically complete list of owners, there could well be many omissions (as in a modern census)

¹ *Mon. Ancy.* iii. 15, 20: 'Consul tertium decimum (23 B.C.) sexagenos denarios plebei, quae tum frumentum publicum accipiebat, dedi; ea millia hominum paullo plura quam ducenta fuerunt.'

² Suetonius, *Aug.* 42, 10.

³ The *recensus populi* as originated by Caesar is certainly retained by Augustus (Suetonius,

Aug. 40).

⁴ Suetonius, *Caes.* 41.

⁵ *Jour. Rom. Stud.* iv. 71.

⁶ i. 44.

⁷ In the United States the military census, involving about ten million men, was taken in one day.

⁸ *Caes.* 41; *Aug.* 40.

among the more or less floating population of the city. From this circumstance it is easy to see how the *non recensi* (associated even in Suetonius with the enumeration *per dominos insularum*) were the class from which the vacancies were filled. And even if this were not the case, and the *non recensi* had contained some of the *professi*, it would have been a mere clerical detail to exclude the latter from the *subsortitio*.

So much for the *non recensi*. Mr. Hardy is also curious about the *recensus populi* itself, and complains that I have not made clear what purpose it served by the side of the regular census. I can hardly blame Mr. Hardy for being a little puzzled on this point, since my own remarks on the census were unduly conservative, and (it must be confessed) not very enlightening. What seems to be true (as will presently appear) is that the old census was merged in the new system of *professiones*, which (after their Egyptian prototype) related exclusively to property. This left room (and indeed gave occasion) for an adaptation of the complementary Egyptian institutions, the *κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή*. Such an enumeration of the citizen population (as Edouard Cuq has recently pointed out¹) was necessary 'to fix the *origo*, to apply the rule *actor sequitur forum rei*, to collect the tax on rent, to fix properly the *ius liberorum*, and to dispense the *teserae frumentariae*.' It would be interesting to dwell on each of these topics, but I will not go beyond the relation of Caesar's *recensus populi* to the frumentations. In order to be eligible for free grain a man had to be a citizen, and the evidence of his citizenship was the appearance of his name on the latest official list. In attacking the corn problem Caesar, as a first step (with the born administrator's instinct for basing action on the facts), set out to determine who were citizens. Those omitted from this list were ineligible, but were consoled by the *subsortitio*. Those included were *prima facie* eligible. The question for Caesar was how their number might be reduced.

On this point Mr. Hardy and I have reached very different conclusions. I have no wish to criticize his theory, but it seems proper to make one or two observations. The fact that it originated with Mommsen signifies prestige rather than finality. Regarding this whole legislation Mommsen has changed his mind with disconcerting freedom, and Mr. Hardy's attempt to adjust himself to the somewhat devious course of the master is almost an occasion for mirth.² As to *recensus*³ it may be equivalent to *census* when the latter is considered as a revision of a former registration. It may also imply a review, as in Livy, where *in equitibus recensendis*⁴ = *in equitibus recognoscendis*.⁵ To use *recensus*, as I understand it, of a population census puts a certain strain on the meaning, which would be alleviated at first by the context and later by repetition. To employ it as Mr. Hardy does in the sense of a special, numerically limited list made at infrequent intervals and for one (and only one) special purpose seems to depart from the tradition of the term and to go beyond what would have been intelligible. Again, if the *profitentes* are those who participate in the *subsortitio*, some of them are bound to be successful; and yet the law (under heavy penalties) prohibits anyone who has made a *professio* from receiving grain. Even if one could escape from this dilemma, he would still be confronted with the fact that the hypothesis represents Caesar not as engaged in an enterprise worthy of his genius, but as using the legislative machinery in a roundabout and unnecessary way to accomplish what is after all only a detail of administration. And

¹ 'Une statistique de locaux affectés à l'habitation dans la Rome impériale,' *Memoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belle-lettres* (1915). A summary of this authoritative study is given by Magoffin in the *American Journal of Philology*, April, 1917. The words in the text are his.

² See (e.g.) *Six Roman Laws*, pp. 166 sqq.

³ One of the few occurrences of this word is in a contract of sale in a Dacian triptich (*CIL*, iii. p. 947): 'Conuenitque inter eos uti Veturius Valens pro ea domo usque ad recensum tributa dependat.'

⁴ xxxviii. 28, 2.

⁵ xliii. 16, 1.

besides giving an unsatisfying view of Caesar, this explanation does not elsewhere cast a single ray of light.

With these subsidiary issues out of the way I come to the question: Are the *professiones* of the Tablet those referred to by Cicero? The latter we know had certain external features: (a) They were presented at Rome, (b) they were handed in on fixed dates, (c) they could be made by proxy, (d) they were entered on the public records, (e) they involved the technical terms, *profiteri*, *oportere* (in its legal sense), and *referre* (=to record). It is apparent from the letter to Atticus¹ that Cicero is having his first experience with these declarations, and that in the procedure at least he is acting on information and advice received from Faberius and Balbus. It follows from this that Cicero is dealing with some recent legislation of Caesar. The question is with what legislation? Let us look over the field. Is there any law of Caesar (recent or otherwise) that is known to have required a *professio*? None except the legislation of the Tablet, which is admitted by Mr. Hardy to be Caesar's, and which requires a return having precisely the characteristics we have noted in the *professio* spoken of by Cicero. Judging from these facts alone, there is no practical escape from the conclusion that the two sets of *professiones* are identical.²

Considered as to their subject-matter, the Ciceronian *professiones* were declarations of property made yearly to the government at Rome. This periodical character makes it certain that they were not related to special measures such as the debtors' act and the sumptuary law. If these required *professiones* (and there is no evidence that they did) the compliance would be determined by the special occasion. The same may be said of any similar legislation which could be brought into this relation. If then the *professiones* were not connected with any special measure, they must have been required by the government for the sake of the information which they contained. But this is only another way of saying that they were census returns, and as such belonged, indeed, as Mr. Hardy remarks, to 'a new system.' Cicero's answer to Tiro: 'haec pecunia (=property) ex eo genere est ut professione non egeat'³ of itself implies a property registration.⁴ This too Mr. Hardy concedes. Now it is interesting to observe that the *professiones* of the Tablet likewise have marks of the census. (1) It is not accident that the particular officials concerned were consuls, praetors, and tribunes. "The censorial powers," as Professor Shuckburgh remarked, "originally belonged to the consulship; if no censors were appointed, the old powers of the consuls revived."⁵ It seems to have been overlooked that the praetors and tribunes were also connected with the census, and yet Varro permits no other inference. The *praeco* first makes proclamation and then (as Varro goes on to say): 'ubi lucet censor scribae' (will Mr. Hardy kindly take note of the *scribae*?) 'magistratus murra unguentisque unguentur. ubi praetores tribunique plebei quique in consilium uocati sunt uenerunt, censores inter se sortiuntur uter lustrum faciat.'⁶ I will not discuss the part of praetors and tribunes in the census except that they were evidently present as assistants. In the legislation of the Tablet they are assistants of the consul, in that they may be called on to take his place in the

¹ xiii. 33, 1.

² Shuckburgh (as I afterwards found) recognized the relation with sure insight. See a note on Cic. Att. xiii. 33, 1, in his translation.

³ Fam. xvi. 23, 1.

⁴ Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, p. 222: 'All objects of property, corporeal or incorporeal, which constituted *pecunia* in the later sense of the word, were subject to valuation and taxation.' I wish to call attention to the three following parallels of *pecunia*=property. Cic.

de Leg. iii. 3, 7: 'familias pecuniasque censento.' Livy 29, 37, 7 (where the twelve Latin colonies in 204 B.C. sent their census to Rome, showing): 'quantum numero militum et quantum pecunia ualerent.' Tab. v. 147: 'et rationem pecuniae ex formula census . . . accipito.' Thus *pecunia* is the technical word for property in relation to the census.

⁵ Note on Suetonius, Aug. 37, 4.

⁶ Ling. Lat. vi. 87.

supervision of the *professiones*. (2) Again, it was recognized in the procedure of the census that one person might make a return for another. In the summons to the people there occurred the clause: 'si quis pro se siue pro altero rationem dare uolet.'¹ This is preserved in the Tablet by the provision that the guardian shall represent his ward, and the far more important rule that anyone absent from Rome may make the return through the person who has charge of his business affairs. (3) It is clear also, from the careful designation of those who were to act for the consul in case of his absence, that the returns were periodical. They do not show on their face that they were annual, but that they were so (as Mr. Hardy himself holds) is rendered probable by their use in the corn distribution, and by the analogy and influence of the Egyptian ἀπογραφή. (4) The reference to property is indicated by the description of the person who might serve as proxy of an absent principal: 'is quei eius negotia curabit.' A business agent (I do not mean a *procurator*) might conceivably be occupied with other than business affairs, but the point is that the text in mentioning a person of this kind specifically must have contemplated his ordinary functions. (5) These details are in harmony with what may be learned of the Roman census from the provisions (vv. 142-156) relating to the Italian registration. Especially to be noted is the fact that the census at Rome was not necessarily taken by the censor. In fact in five references he is mentioned only twice, and then in the formula, *censor aliusue quis magistratus*, or *censor seiue alius quis magistratus*. As Mr. Hardy himself remarks, the law 'is so worded as to make censors in the technical sense unnecessary.'² The census at Rome was really in the hands of other officials, and when we find (in vv. 1-19) the consul, praetor, and tribune charged with the administration of property returns, the connection between the two is obvious enough. If, then, both the *professiones* of the Tablet and those of Cicero are census returns, we have another sure foundation on which to affirm their relation. Alike both in form and subject-matter, their identification can hardly be any longer open to question.

It is one of the strange things that Mr. Hardy should seek to overthrow this conclusion by saying, in spite of the evidence, that Cicero may be referring to some other act of Caesar. It is of course mathematically possible, but I have yet to learn that a mere possibility outweighs known and admitted facts. The truth is Mr. Hardy is in considerable difficulty at this point. He must (1) either cling to the futility I have just mentioned, or (2) renounce his supposition that the Tablet is Caesar's (in which case his own theory is irretrievably lost), or (3) admitting that the Ciceronian *professiones* are identical with those of the Tablet, he must show that I have misinterpreted the meaning of both. In case he chooses the third alternative (which seems the only possible one), he might possibly argue that Cicero had in the view the famous *subsortitio*. But this would be a thorny path, from which, however, he could rescue himself by coming over to what seems to me a smoother trail.

To encourage Mr. Hardy (and perhaps others) in this laudable direction I will go on a little further to point out how the hypothesis I have suggested is also justified by its uses.³ In the first place it discloses a sound principle for exclusion from the frumentations. In all his criticisms Mr. Hardy has not ventured to find any fault

¹ Varro, *ibid.*, vi. 86.

² *Jour. Rom. Stud.* iv. 86.

³ Mr. Hardy makes much of the difficulty of posting the *professi* in the forum. Of a similar objection to Legras' hypothesis he speaks most softly. Merely for the convenience of my theory (and to save the trouble of answering literal-minded critics) I could wish the provision had been omitted. With the help of a little imagination one might suppose that Caesar (having some

other matters on hand at this time) determined the principle and left the details to subordinates. It was ingrained in Roman practice that a list of this character should be brought to the public notice. This precedent was followed by those who drafted the legislation, and who in carrying out the main idea did not inquire too closely whether the means were practicable. Our own laws are not always workable, and allowance should always be made for imperfect drafting.

with this principle which, reasonable and just in itself, has the impress of a consciously applied remedy. Caesar knew the evils of the great burden which had been imposed on the State, and proceeded to alleviate them by excluding those to whom the public bounty was not necessary. The solution, which seems obvious to us, was not so easy for Caesar, and does credit to his courage as well as to his administrative insight.

Another case in point is Caesar's innovation in making the paving and maintenance of streets a charge on the abutting property. This was altogether a new principle which Caesar had introduced into Roman administration¹ and for the enforcement of which he provided somewhat elaborate machinery.² But could this have succeeded without frequent and accurate records of property? According to Mr. Hardy all that was necessary was to know 'the ownership of the particular house property in question.' He means (I suppose) that when the cost of street improvement was assessed against a piece of property, the aedile proceeded to find out who owned it. But from what source would he obtain this information? Was there at Rome (as in Egypt) a registry of titles—a βιβλιοθήκη ἐκτίσεων³—from which one could determine at a glance and authoritatively the ownership of a particular house or a piece of land? I should be glad so to believe, and I have little doubt that it was in Caesar's plans, but the fact seems to be that it was not until the time of Constantine the Great that the transfer of land had to be entered in public records.⁴ In default of a titles' registry, the aedile could have recourse to the archives of the censor, but these would soon become useless to a considerable extent on account of not showing changes of ownership. The situation would be such that it would be necessary to establish many titles by oral testimony. One cannot imagine Caesar setting on foot an important reform and leaving it at the mercy of so impracticable (not to say impossible) a method. The yearly registration was not itself a perfect substitute for a registry of titles, but it would be of great assistance, and a necessary (if not completely satisfactory) pre-requisite to the new regulations.

There is still another section of the Tablet which our hypothesis puts in a new light. This is the part (vv. 142-156) relating to the census in the Italian municipalities. It is discussed in a previous paper⁵ by Mr. Hardy, who rightly rejects the view of Legras that the legislation emanated from Sulla. He holds that it is the work of Caesar, and that its special object was to make the census in the rest of Italy coincide (partially at least) with that at Rome in point of time. But after all for a man of Caesar's type this synchronism would not possess any great significance in itself. The point which Mr. Hardy missed in his speculations (and which I am happy to be able to elucidate for his benefit) is that Caesar is here introducing an annual census into the other municipalities of Italy.⁶ This follows at once from the supposition that he had done so at Rome. It is otherwise most probable. Caesar is certainly not establishing the census itself in those communities. Nor is it like him to spend effort on a nicer external adjustment of institutions which he leaves essentially unchanged. He looked to the future (not to the past), and in the interest of what seemed greater efficiency contemplated radical changes. The census was an old institution in Italy, and though the change from a quinquennial to an annual basis was a great one, it required only greater activity on the part of the existing municipal administration. The placing of all Italy under the same regime with a great yearly registration of the resources of the peninsula is such a conception as might be expected from Caesar's administrative insight.

¹ The care of the streets before this had been a public charge. Cf. Cic. *Leg.* iii. 3, 7: 'Censores . . . vias . . . tuento.'

² Vv. 20-56.

³ Mitteis, *Grundzüge*, ii. 90-112

⁴ Naber, *Obs. de Iure Romano, Mnemosyne*, xxiv. 161.

⁵ *Journ. Rom. Stud.* iv. 85-87.

⁶ It seems clear that otherwise Caesar left the local census as he found it.

Beneath all the details which we have been considering is this great fact of Caesar's reorganization of the census. Without altogether abolishing the censor, he put the work at Rome mainly in the hands of other officials; he modernized the procedure; he brought in a yearly registration, merging the old census in this new arrangement; he introduced the citizen population census (taken in Egypt at fourteen year intervals); he changed the census in the Italian municipalities to a yearly basis. Caesar's genius was that of the administrator, and it is in accord with this character that we find him here (in quite modern fashion) laying the indispensable foundation of all efficient administration.

If my view is correct, three parts of the Tablet (vv. 1-19, vv. 20-50, vv. 142-156, aggregating 63 out of the 163 verses) are linked together through the *professiones*, and must have belonged to the same piece of legislation. But with the third part relating to the Italian census belongs also (as Mr. Hardy himself holds¹) the long section (vv. 83-142) on disqualifications for the local senates, to which Cicero refers in the letter to Lepta.² In this case there is overwhelming evidence for the unity of the text. The whole is a single statute. As such it is not so difficult to understand why it should be set up outside of Rome. It was not only that many of its provisions were binding on the outside communities, and that others would serve as a guide for local legislation on similar topics, but that being a single whole it would be less likely to be copied in parts. We are also in a position to assign the entire act to October 46 B.C., and to ascribe it without question to Caesar.

JEFFERSON ELMORE.

¹ *Ibid.* p. 90.

² *Fam.* vi. 18, 1.

NOTE ON EURIPIDES.

Hekabe 1172 sqq.

ἐκ δὲ πηδήσας ἐγὼ
θῆρ ὥς διώκω τὰς μαιφόνους κύνας,
ἅπαντ' ἐρευνῶν τοῖχον ὥς κυνηγέτης
βάλλων ἀράσσω.

I would read and punctuate:

ἅπαντ' ἐρευνῶν, στοῖχον ὥς κυνηγέτης,
βάλλων ἀράσσω.

στοῖχος is the row of hunting-poles supporting the huntsman's nets.
Cf. Xen. *Cyn.* VI. 10 and 21.

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BLOEMFONTEIN.

THE SACRIFICE OF GOATS IN HOMER.

ON p. 49 of the number of the *Classical Quarterly* for January, 1917, Mr. Alex. Pallis suggests an emendation in the reference to sacrifice of goats in *A.* 40, 66, 315, on the assumption that such a sacrifice is not Homeric: 'In no other Homeric passages do we find an allusion to sacrifices of goats, nor is it likely that offerings of animals so little prized would have been thought acceptable to the gods. It is clear, therefore, that in the above passages we must read *όίων* instead of *αίγων*.'

There is nothing in Homer to warrant the statement that goats were little prized, since Achilles served goat's meat to his guests *I.* 207, and for the great festival in honour of Patroclus *Ψ* 31 many goats were slain; Nestor *Λ* 679 boasted of the number of goats he and his companions had driven away from the defeated men of Elis, and Iphidamas *Λ* 244 promised goats to the wealthy father of his bride. In the *Odyssey* the sacrifice of goats for feasting is constantly mentioned in such recurring verses as *β* 56:

*βοῦς ἱερεύοντες καὶ οἷς καὶ πίονας αἶγας
εἰλαπινάζουσιν.*
ρ 180: *οἱ δ' ἱέρεον οἷς μεγάλους καὶ πίονας αἶγας.*

No part of the wealth of Odysseus is more stressed than his wealth in goats, as is shown in *ξ* 101 sqq.

There is another passage in the *Iliad* where direct reference is made to the sacrifice of goats, and that is in the passage where Priam reproaches the gods for their ingratitude to Hector, using these words:

Ω 34: *Ἐκτωρ μηρί' ἔκχε βοῶν αἶγων τε τελείων;*

Here it is possible to emend and substitute the word *όίων*, but fortunately there is one passage in Homer where no substitution is possible: Antinous advises the suitors to give up any further attempts to string the bow of Odysseus until they have celebrated the feast of Apollo, and in preparation for the feast he orders the goatherd, Melanthius, to go and bring some goats that they may sacrifice them.

φ 265: *ἦῶθεν δὲ κέλεσθε Μελάνθιον, αἰπόλον αἶγων,
αἶγας ἄγειν, αἷ πασι μέγ' ἔξοχοι αἰπολίοισιν,
ὄφρ' ἐπὶ μηρία θέντες Ἀπόλλωνι κλυτοτόξῳ
τόξου πειρώμεσθα καὶ ἐκτελέωμεν ἄεθλον.*

Here no amount of cunning can substitute sheep for goats, since we have the goatherd, Melanthius, named as the one who is to bring them. It should be noted that the goats are to be sacrificed to Apollo, and that it was that same god to whom reference was made in each of the passages in the first book of the *Iliad*. It should be noticed also that goats are the only animals to be sacrificed in this festival of Apollo. If Homer had written a passage to defend the common text in *A* he could not have written one more conclusive than this speech of Antinous.

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THE PROSODY OF *DIUTIUS*.

PROFESSOR POSTGATE (*C.Q.* XI. 169) speaks of 'the regrettable silence of the principal editors of Plautus upon the subject.' As a minor editor, I beg to defend my colleagues by pointing out that the scansions *dīūtius* and *dyūtius* are subject of a note in Dziatzko's and Hauler's editions of the *Phormio* of Terence (on line 182) and in the Plautus Report in Bursian of 1879 (p. 70). Also that a reference to the index of my larger edition of the *Captivi* (Methuen, 1900) will show that the word is discussed in my section on Prosody (p. 27): 'The same doubt exists regarding the scansion of *diutius* (e.g. *Trin.* 685), the by-form (equivalent to a dactyl *dīūtius* or to a proceleusmatic *dīūtīūs*) of the fuller form *dīūtīūs* (*Rud.* 93).'

Certainly the proceleusmatic is the only possible scansion of Phaedrus 3 *epilog.* 4:

fruar diutius si celerius cepero;

but this testimony is not so overwhelmingly convincing as appears at first sight (cf. Burs. 167, 27 on *cūi* for *cūi*, etc.). What has kept editors of Plautus from 'emending' *Rud.* 93, either by Professor Postgate's very attractive conjecture < *tum* > *detinui* or by the detestable '*detiniui*,' was their recognition of the fact that isolated specimens of older pronunciation are not uncommon in Plautus. The claim of *dīūtius* to be the older pronunciation of the comparative of *dīū* is supported by *dīūtine* (*Rud.* 1241):

diutine uti bene licet partum bene,
and *dīūtinus* (*Mil.* 503):

longum diutinumque, a mani ad uesperum.

However, I do not mean to assert that Professor Postgate's theory is wrong. I am merely defending the reluctance of my brother-editors to discard *dīūtius* in *Rud.* 93:

eō uos, amici, detinui diutius.

W. M. LINDSAY.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

American Journal of Philology. XXXVIII. 2. 1917.

H. V. Canter, *Rhetorical elements in Livy's Direct Speeches*. Part I. 67 out of 407 direct speeches have been examined for this study. Of the three kinds of oratory (*genera causarum*) recognized by the ancients nearly all Livy's speeches belong to the *genus deliberativum*. The *genus demonstrativum* is represented in 28. 39 (Saguntine envoys) and 45. 51 (L. Aemilius Paulus): the *iudiciale* by the two speeches of Philip's sons before their father (40. 9-15). The accusation against Pleminius 39. 16-22 is also quasi-judicial. From a detailed examination of Livy's employment of various rhetorical devices, *sententiae* or general maxims, figures of rhetoric, as questions (most commonly in the indicative), irony, climax, apostrophe and exclamation, and antithesis, it is shown that Livy evinces restraint and absence of affectation in their use, and that in their choice he is careful to select what is appropriate to the speaker. W. W. Hyde, *The Prosecution of Lifeless Things and Animals in Greek Law*. Part I. The curious ritual of the Attic festival of Diipolia, in which an ox was killed and the weapon that slew him tried for the slaughter, is examined. The explanations of Mommsen, Robertson Smith, Frazer and Farnell are considered and pronounced unsatisfactory. All that we can say is that the ritual was connected with agrarian rites and probably had some form of totemism behind it. J. W. Hewitt, *Religious Burlesque in Aristophanes and elsewhere*. Such burlesque is not necessarily 'impious' but no motive for it can be assigned. A. T. Murray, *On the Disposition of Spoil in the Homeric Poems*. The apparent contradiction that Briseis is sometimes said to have been the gift of Agamemnon and sometimes that of the Greeks is solved by the assumption that spoil belonged to the collective army but that the leader often controlled its distribution. C. Knapp, *Molle atque facetum*. The Horatian phrase refers to the *Eclogues* and the Minor poems only and *facetum* means 'humorous.'

XXXVIII. 3. 1917.

A. L. Wheeler, *The Plot of the Epidicus*. After a long and elaborate examination of the difficulties and obscurities of the play, which is shown to be in several respects abnormal amongst the dramas of Plautus, it is concluded that in all probability some of the peculiarities are due to his dealing with an unusual Greek original and others to the omission of a prologue or a passage of exposition early in the play, but that others, especially those connected with Epidicus' trickery, were caused by the curtailing, which has only 733 verses subsequent to Plautus. W. W. Hyde, *The Prosecution of Lifeless Things and Animals in Greek Law* (continued). The court at the Prytaneum which tried these cases must have existed from prehistoric times. The motive of such trials must have been indignation against the animals, etc., these being regarded as responsible. Similar views were held by other nations, as is shown by enactments of the Persians, the Jews and so on. W. S. Fox, *Greek Inscriptions in the Royal Ontario Museum*. On a fragment of a stele found in Egypt. A. S. Cook, *Petrarch and the Wine of Meroe*. Petrarch's references to this wine in *Africa* 6. 853 and elsewhere seem to be due to a misunderstanding of Lucan 10: 163.

Athenaeum (Pavia). V. 2. 1917.

E. Lattes discusses the following group of Etruscan words with verbal force : *sta, stas ; sca, sce, s'cuna, s'cune ; mena, menaxe, mene, menn, mina, mine, mini, minu.* C. Pascal treats of Pollio and his relations to Horace and Catullus. A dislike for Catullus was shared by both, and their political and literary ideas were akin. In *Odes* II. 1 Pollio appears as a writer of 'reasoned' history. Seneca says he was the first author to hold public readings of his own works. It is clear that Horace admired his genius and his personality. Petrus Rasi defends successfully the text of Ovid *ex P.* III. 1. 21 on grounds of geography as well as palaeography ; also that of Horace *Odes* I. 27, rejecting a Dutch emendation of *linguit* for *fugit*.

V. 3. 1917.

M. Galdi thinks that Plutarch owes his ideas on the connexion of 'Fortuna' with the mystical she-wolf who fed Romulus and Remus to Trogus Pompeius, an Augustan prose-author, whose historical work was epitomized by Justin. C. Pascal examines the authority for the praenomen (Gaius or Quintus) of Catullus, and sums up in favour of Quintus on the ground of ancient tradition and the authority of *Carmen* LXVII. 5. 12, which has the probable reading Quintus. N. Pirrone deals with one of the inferior codices of Valerius Maximus, which shares the lacuna common to all extant codices. He classifies its peculiar mistakes in order to find its affinity to other better texts, and gives over thirty instances in which its reading is better than theirs. He concludes that its good variants are due not to the scribe, but to an original type more ancient than either A. or L. Several passages are discussed in the light of this view.

V. 4. 1917.

E. Romagnoli gives charming Italian versions of the fragments of Pindar published in the eighth volume of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. The versions cannot be published usefully without their commentary, which awaits the end of war-conditions. Fragment 110 is rendered

'Agli inesperti piace la guerra ; ma chi la conosce,
Quando ella si avvicina, trema nel fondo del cuore.'

C. Pascal shows that in Latin authors in Africa tradition persisted in upholding Dido's constancy to Sychaeus. He mentions Tertullian, Macrobius, and Servius. In later ages Virgil's version prevailed.

Berliner philologische Wochenschrift. 1917.

[This summary supplements and continues the summary printed in the last volume. Some numbers are still missing.]

Jan. 13. J. J. Hartman, *De Plutarcho scriptore et philosopho* (Bock). The book, about half of which has appeared in *Mnemosyne*, is valuable, but the writer has not made use of much of the recent literature on his subject. W. A. Baehrens, *Überlieferung und Textgeschichte der lateinisch erhaltenen Origenes-homilien zum Alten Testament* (Lehmann). Valuable though not free from faults.

Jan. 20. W. Norvin, *Olympiodoros fra Alexandria og hans commentar til Platons Phaidon* (Raeder). A careful study which throws light on the development of Neoplatonism. (1) K. Brugmann, *EIPHNH, Eine sprachgeschichtliche Untersuchung* ; (2) B. Keil, *EIPHNH, Eine philologisch-antiquarische Untersuchung* (Meltzer). (1) B. connects the word with the root *er, ar* in ἀραρίσκω, ἄρμενος, ἀρετή, which he finds also in εἶρη, εἰρεσιώγη, ἱρην. For the meaning he compares *ᾤα* (πῆγνυμι). (2) K., on the other hand, shows that the meaning of the word from Homer to early in the fourth century is 'a state of peace,' 'time of peace,' whereas the arrangement of

terms to end a war is expressed by *σπονδαί* or *συνθήκαι*. K. regards the words *περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης βουλευσασθαι Ἀθηναίους* in Thuc. IV. 118 as a gloss. W. Bannier contributes a paper, the sixth of a series begun in 1911, on *Attic Inscriptions*. He discusses decrees of the fifth and fourth centuries.

Jan. 27. W. S. Teuffel, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*. Sechste Auflage, neu bearb. von W. Kroll and F. Skutsch. Vol. I. *Die Literatur der Republik* (Hosius). This volume has eighty more pages than in the last edition. Of these twenty are given to Cicero, the increase being chiefly in the general remarks and in the treatment of the rhetorical works. The references to recent literature, especially to non-German literature, on the subject are not always adequate.

Feb. 3. C. Lackeit, *Aion: Zeit und Ewigkeit in Sprache und Religion der Griechen*. I. (Meltzer). A study of the development of the meaning of the word from Homer to the early Byzantine writers. A second part is to follow treating the word in connexion with the history of religion.

Feb. 10. H. Blümner, *Aus der archäologischen Sammlung der Universität Zürich*. 25 Lichtdruck-Bilder in Mappe. 2 Seiten Text (Bieber). G. Lambeck and others, *Quellensammlung für den geschichtlichen Unterricht* (Berndt). A number of 32 pp. volumes in two Series: in Series I. the aim is to illustrate the most important events in the period treated in the volume (e.g. Greek History to 431 B.C.) from the original sources; in Series II. the aim is to provide in each volume a full collection of material on the subject selected, e.g. Pericles, Hannibal, Augustus.

Feb. 17. E. Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Buch VI.* erkl. von E. N. (Helm). In this second edition the book has been thoroughly revised and recent works connected with the subject have been considered. A long and interesting review continued in the next number. F. Novotný contributes to this number an article (in which he gives a summary of part of a forthcoming book) on *Eine neue Methode der Klauselforschung*.

Feb. 24. C. C. Conrad, *On Terence Adelphoe 511-516* (Köhm). This paper supplements the writer's Dissertation on 'The technique of continuous action in Roman comedy.' W. A. Merrill, *Criticism of the Text of Lucretius with Suggestions for its Improvement* (Tolkiehn). Severely criticized. J. Sundwall, *Weströmische Studien* (Bauer). A useful collection of information as to officials and members of the Senate in the fifth century.

Mar. 3. E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque, étudiée dans ses rapports avec les autres langues indo-européennes* (Güntert). The best and most trustworthy book on the subject. B. Prehn, *Quaestiones Plautinae* (Köhm). A valuable Dissertation on 'die Betrachtung der possenhaften Stellen bei Plautus mit besonderer Berücksichtigung ähnlicher Stoffe bei den Dichtern der mittleren und neueren griechischen Komödie.' E. Weiss, *Studien zu den römischen Rechtsquellen* (Lesser). Two studies (1) on the relation between *lex* and *legis actio*, (2) on Roman provincial edicts.

Mar. 10. F. Strenger, *Strabos Erdkunde von Libyen* (Capelle). A long review, continued in the next number, praising the book highly, but disagreeing with the author on many points. J. Mesk contributes to this number a paper in which he discusses the interpretation of Suetonius (*Iul.* 80) and Nicolaus Damascenus (*Bíos Kaisarapōs* c. 23). He disagrees with the view of M. E. Deutsch ('The plot to murder Caesar on the bridge,' reviewed in *Berl. phil. Woch.* December 9, 1916).

Mar. 17. W. Schur, *Die Aeneassage in der späteren römischen Literatur* (Kraemer). A careful study of the development of the legend in the first century B.C. E. Pfeiffer, *Studien zum antiken Sternenglauben* (Gruppe). A volume in the series edited by F. Boll, 'Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Weltbildes und der griechischen Wissenschaft.' The review, which is continued in the next number, gives a sketch of the contents

of the book. W. Bannier contributes to this number *Zu attischen Inschriften*. VII.

Mar. 24. F. Marx, *A. Cornelii Celsi quae supersunt*, rec. F. M. (Kind). The Prolegomena (100 pp.) contain much that is new and are discussed at some length. The app. crit. is trustworthy. In this and the two following numbers is printed a paper by T. Hoech on *Die Hauptformen der römischen Triumphbogen und der Stil der römischen Münzen*.

Mar. 31. *Euclidis Opera*. Vol. VIII. H. Menge, *Euclidis Phaenomena et scripta musica*; J. L. Heiberg, *Euclidis Fragmenta* (M. C. P. Schmidt). Text with Latin translation and Prolegomena (40 pp.). Highly praised. J. Weiss, *Das Urchristentum*, I. Teil, 1.-3. Buch (Soltau). The author left a further portion of his work nearly ready for the press. R. Berndt contributes to this number some interesting reviews of school books.

July 21. A. Wilhelm, *Attische Urkunden* II (Bannier). This paper (37 pp.), in which certain inscriptions belonging to the last three centuries B.C. are interpreted, is highly praised. J. H. Lipsius contributes to this number an article 'Zur attischen Nomothese' in which he examines the evidence afresh.

Aug. 4 (Double number). R. Ehwald, *Die Metamorphosen des P. Ovidius Naso*. Vol. II. Buch VIII-XV, erkl. von O. Korn, 4th ed. by R. E. (Magnus). The text is improved, and the commentary, especially in the new edition, is remarkable for learning, taste and intimate knowledge of the poet. W. Strehl and W. Soltau, *Grundriss der alten Geschichte und Quellenkunde*. Vol. II. *Römische Geschichte* (Lenschau). A trustworthy handbook (600 pages) and a guide to the literature of the subject. L. Pareti, *Studi siciliani ed italiani* (Lenschau). Twelve studies, mostly of Sicilian subjects. The most important are the two in which the battle of Himera and the history of that time are discussed.

Aug. 11. *Die Anfangsstadien der griechischen Kunstprosa in der Beurteilung Platons* (Münscher). The author of this dissertation has tried to form from the longer speeches of the sophists in Plato an idea of the earlier stages of the development of artistic prose. A long and interesting review, not wholly favourable. A. G. Groos, *De weg tot de kennis der oude geschiedenis* (Kraemer). The reviewer gives a summary of an interesting lecture on the work of the historian.

Aug. 25 (Double number). O. Schroeder, *Aeschyli Cantica*, iterum digessit O. S. (Radermacher). The publication of U. v. Wilamowitz' Aeschylus has caused S. to revise his edition of the choruses. J. A. Heikel, *Eusebius' Werke: Die demonstratio evangelica*, hrsg. von J. A. H. (Preuschen). The addition of a subject-index increases the value of this volume. K. Halm, *Cicero in Catilinam and pro Archia*, erkl. von K. H. (Ammon). The fifteenth edition thoroughly revised by W. Sternkopf may almost be described as a new work. The number of pages is increased from 142 to 231. Guil. Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum* a G. D. condita et aucta, nunc tertium edita. Vol. alterum (Larfeld). The reviewer gives a summary of the additions and other changes in the new edition.

Sept. 1. H. Hofmann, *Über den Zusammenhang zwischen Chorliedern und Handlung in den erhaltenen Dramen des Euripides* (J. Ziehen). The author of this dissertation defends Euripides from the criticism of Aristotle (*Poet.* 1456a 26-32). He divides the plays into groups according to the part played by the chorus. E. Wenkebach, *Pseudogalenische Kommentare zu den Epidemien des Hippokrates* (Kind). The author shows that this work (which is reprinted by Kühn, XVII.A 313-462) is a forgery made between the years 1588 and 1617. K. Huber, *Untersuchungen über den Sprachcharakter des griechischen Leviticus* (Helbing). Specially good on the syntax. K. Brugmann and B. Delbrück, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*. 2. Bearb. II. Bd.: K. Brugmann, *Lehre von den Wortformen und ihrem*

Gebrauch. III. Teil. 2. Lieferung (Pedersen). This completes the new edition, which treats, with much new material, the subjects treated by Brugmann in the first edition together with those treated by Delbrück in the first two volumes (only) of his *Syntax*.

Sept. 8. J. Kaerst, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*. Bd. I. (Philipp). Second edition, considerably enlarged. A. Ledl, *Studien zur älteren athenischen Verfassungsgeschichte* (Lenschau). A number of separate studies. The reviewer gives a summary of the more important results. H. Blümner contributes to this number a long and interesting paper on the word *χωρυτός* (Hom. *Od.* XXI. 54). He shows that it means not a 'bow-case,' as is stated in many of the lexica, etc., but a quiver of a particular kind with two straps for holding the bow. This is the meaning which has long been attached to the word by archaeologists. 'Man bezeichnet damit zum Unterschiede von dem Zylinderförmigen, in der Regel an der linken Schulter getragenen Köcher, der zum einteiligen griechischen Bogen gehört, den zum dreiteiligen Bogen des Herakles, der Amazonen und der Skythen gehörigen Köcher, der im Querschnitt Birnenform hat, mit zwei Riemen oder breiten Bändern versehen ist, durch die der Bogen bei Nichtgebrauch hindurchgesteckt wurde, und der in der Regel an der linken Hüfte getragen wird.' B. examines the passages in which the Greek word or its Latin derivative is found.

Classical Philology. XII. 3. 1917.

A. J. Carnoy, *Hesiod's Description of Winter*. Defence of the genuineness of *Works and Days* 493-560. W. L. Westermann, *Aelius Gallus and the Reorganization of the Irrigation of Egypt under Augustus*. The important work of securing Rome its corn supply by the cleaning out of the Nile canals was put in hand by Aelius Gallus, from whom Strabo derived his accurate knowledge of the irrigation system. J. A. Scott, *Odysseus as a Sun God*. A theory resting on ignorance and misstatement. Jefferson Elmore, *The Subjunctive in Restrictive qui and quod clauses*. The relative is indefinite or generalizing, and so all the clauses as e.g. *quod sciam* are capable of taking the subjunctive. *quod sciam* originally related to the future and was thence transferred to the present and past. E. T. Merrill, *On a Venetian Codex of Pliny's Letters*. Discusses the peculiarities of a portion of a miscellaneous MS. catalogued as Lat. Class. XI. cod. xxxvii. C. D. Adams, *Demosthenes' Avoidance of Breves*. Examines the theories of Blass taking Butcher's Oxford text as his basis. His general conclusion is that the avoidance of *breues* is a feature of Demosthenes' style. C. D. Buck, *Studies in Greek Noun-formation* (continued). Deals with words with genitive in *-ωτος*. In *Notes and Discussions* P. Shorey elucidates the meaning of *εύχερής* 'easy-going' 'unfastidious' with especial reference to Plato *Politicus* 266 C, where it is applied to the pig.

XII. 4. 1917.

G. L. Hendrickson, *Horace and Valerius Cato*. III. 'The Neoteric Poets and the Latin Purists.' The group of critics against whom Horace is writing, and of whom Valerius Cato is the chief, is one of professional scholars (*grammatici*). Their opponents are dilettanti under the patronage of magnates like Maecenas, Asinius and Messalla, who were not in sympathy with the ultra-Hellenistic and Alexandrine tendencies of the new school which had been inaugurated by Catullus and Cinna, and sought to banish Greek expressions as far as possible from Roman speech. Of these was Tibullus, but neither Ovid nor, still less, Propertius. G. Norlin, *Ethnology and the Golden Age*. An examination of the various notices by Greek writers of the 'barbari' with whom Greece came into contact shows that they were confronted by

two sets of facts with regard to primitive peoples—one which pointed to the theory that their state was one of brutal savagery, and another which suggested that it was one of innocent simplicity. On the first theory the 'Golden Age' was in the future; on the second it had disappeared with the past. D. R. Stuart, *The Sources and Extent of Petrarch's Knowledge of the Life of Vergil*. A long and detailed examination, from which it is argued that there is nothing to demonstrate that Petrarch was acquainted with the 'Suetonian' life of Donatus. H. W. Prescott, *The Antecedents of Hellenistic Comedy* (Part I.). The view expressed by Aristotle in the *Poetics* that the invention of plots was introduced into Athens from Sicily and supplanted the Old (scurrilous) Comedy is corroborated to a certain extent by other statements; but the extant fragments of the Middle Comedy have little to confirm it. Notwithstanding this we must be wary of accepting the view that the Hellenistic or New Comedy was a development of the Euripidean Tragedy or of a combination of this with the 'Old' Comedy. W. L. Westermann, *Land Reclamation in the Fayum under Ptolemies Philadelphus and Euergetes I.* Fixes the reclamation as being effected (under Cleon as ἀρχιτέκτων, 260 and earlier, up to 251 approximately) in the period 270-237. Amongst Notes and Discussions Professor Elmore criticizes Professor Reid's interpretation of *professio* as 'statement of a debt' in Cic. *Att.* xiii. 31. 1 and *Fam.* xvi. 23. 1 instead of a 'return of property.' C. Knapp revives A. Palmer's explanation of *quo (ne)* in Hor: S. ii. 1. 37 as abl. after *uacuum*. P. Shorey suggests that ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρός in Plat. *Rep.* 368A is a Pythagorean allusion; he compares Iamblichus *Vit. Pythag.* 88 and 255. A. R. Anderson cites Greek constructions with ἔργον to elucidate that of *opus est* with the gen.

Deutsche Literaturzeitung. 1917.

May 5. T. Hammer-Jensen, *Deux Papyrus à contenu d'ordre chimique* (Diels). The method is inadequate.

May 12. E. Löfstedt, *Tertullian's Apologeticum* (Heinze). The Fuldensis has been over-estimated.

May 19. H. Huber, *Untersuchungen über den Sprachcharakter des griechischen Leviticus* (Helbing). A model for all syntactical investigations of the LXX.

May 26. H. von Arnim, *Gerechtigkeit und Nutzen in der griechischen Aufklärungsphilosophie* (Jacoby). On the fragments of Antiphon περὶ ἀληθείας.

June 2. Fr. Preisigke, *Antikes Leben nach den ägyptischen Papyri* (Schubart). This work is mainly concerned with details, and does not treat of the dominant features.

June 9. Th. Schwab, *Alexander Numeniu Περὶ σχημάτων in seinem Verhältniss zu Kaikilos, Tiberios und seinen späteren Benützern* (von Fleschenberg). The author rightly tries to prove, in opposition to Stensloff, that the book is the original work of Alexander.

June 23. A. Döhring, *Griechische Heroen und Abendgeister* (Weinreich). A failure.

July 14. O. Apelt, *Platons Staat*. New translation by O. A.; *Platons Gesetze*, translated and explained by O. A. (Moog). Careful and delicate work.

July 21. J. Wackernagel, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer* (Schwyzer). Written with learning and clearness, but new results on this subject can only concern details. A. Tenne, *Kriegsschiffe zu den Zeiten der alten Griechen und Römer* (Voigt). The results are interesting, but not always convincing or conclusive.

July 28. F. Sommer, *Sprachgeschichtliche Erläuterungen für den griechischen Unterricht* (Hermann). The book merits high praise; it is to be hoped that the second edition will deal with the syntax also.

Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen. 1917.

I, II. K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana* (Kubitschek). A complete failure. Hans Gross, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Tabula Peutingeriana* (Kubitschek). Valuable.

IV, V. Erich Bethe, *Homer, Dichtung und Sage* (Cauer). Written with much ingenuity, but incorrect in the main issues.

VI. H. Stuart Jones, *Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome. The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino* (Robert). The descriptions are brief and clear, the interpretation not always correct. M. Bieber, *Die antiken Skulpturen und Bronzen des Königl. Museum Fridericianum in Cassel* (Robert). An excellent work.

Hermes. LII. 1.

W. A. Baehrens, *Literarhistorische Beiträge*. IV. *Über die Lebenszeit des Cornelius Labeo*. Labeo was a younger contemporary of Porphyrius; he did not, therefore, live in the first century A.D. H. F. Müller, *Plotinische Studien*. IV. *Zur Ethik des Plotinos*. V. *Περὶ εὐδαιμονίας* (Enn. I. 4). On Enn. I. 2-7. Contains analysis and textual criticism. G. Wissowa, *Das Prooemium von Vergils Georgica*. On the twelve gods of agriculture. H. Schöne, *Τὸ τοῦ Τραϊανῶς γυμνάσιον bei Galenos*. This gymnasium (Galenus, *Θεραπευτικὴ μέθοδος*, XIII. 15; Lucian, *De morte Peregrini* XXXVI.), where the Cynic Theagenes gave his lectures, was the *Thermae Traiani* in Rome, not a part of Pergamum: Theagenes died in Rome. P. Lehmann, *Zur Kenntnis und Geschichte einiger Johannes Scottus zugeschriebener Werke*. I. *Die Disputatio Iohannis Scotti cum Theodoro Graeco und die Clauis physicae des Honorius Augustodunensis*. II. *De egressu animae, De uisione Dei, und die Übersetzung der Ambigua Maximi*. III. *Aus der Bibliothek eines Freundes des Johannes Scottus*. M. Wellmann, *Übersehenes*. I. Ps.-Eustatios (*Commentary to the Hexaemeron*) takes some passages from Achilles Tatius, others from Philon of Alexandria. Achilles Tatius lived about 300 A.D. II. Hierocles, *Ἡθικὴ στοιχείωσις* (Pap. Berol. 9780) depends on the Stoic Antipater *περὶ ζῶων*. P. Boesch, *Zu einigen Theodorokeninschriften*.

LII. 2.

H. Mutschmann, *Das Genesiscitat in Περὶ ὕψους* (IX. 9). Controverses Ziegler (*Hermes* L. pp. 572-603), who thought that the passage was spurious. P. Wessner, *Isidor und Sueton*. The sources of Isidor's *Origines* were mainly later works, the patres, scholia and handbooks dealing with different subjects. Isidor has mixed up the whole material; he seldom mentions his sources. Quotations from older writers are not taken from the originals. M. Forstner, *Hannibals und Hasdrubals Alpenübergang*. It seems that according to Silius Italicus both Hannibal and Hasdrubal crossed the Mont Cenis. K. Holl, *Ψευδομάργης*. Controverses Reitzenstein (*Nachr. Gött. Ges. Wiss.* 1916, pp. 417 sqq.). C. Robert, *On schol. ad Odys. O 225 and schol. A. B. ad Il. M 292*. The sources are really those mentioned in the scholia.

LII. 3.

G. Wissowa, *Zum Ritual der Arvalbrüder*. M. Pohlenz, *Zu den hippokratischen Briefen*. On *Papyri Berol.* 6934, 7094, and *Pap. Ox.* 1184. E. v. Stern, *Hippias oder Hipparchos*. Controverses Beloch, who maintained that *Hipparchos*, not *Hippias*, was the eldest son of Pisistratus (Thucyd. I. 54-59). Ed. Meyer, *Apollonios von Tyana und die Biographie des Philostratos*. The MS. of *Damis* (Philostr. I. 19) was only a fabrication of Philostratus himself. E. Ziebarth, *Delische Stiftungen*. Deals with several foundations not acknowledged as such by B. Laum. F. Vollmer, *Kritischer Apparat zu Ovids Remedia*. Contains the readings of R, Regius Heinsii, Paris

lat. 7311 saec. IX.-X. (by Korn), E = Eton. Bl. 6, 5, saec. XI. (from photographs), and T = Florilegium of the Paris lat. 8069, saec. XI. (from photographs).

Mnemosyne. XLV. 3. 1917.

J. J. Hartman, *De Luciani qui fertur Fugitivis*. Decides against the authenticity of the dialogue as being (1) inconsistent with *De Morte Peregrini* in its estimate of the character of that philosopher; (2) ill-composed as to its plot and futile in its witticisms; (3) containing turns of phrase suggesting clumsy imitation of Lucian's style. H. appends some textual criticism. M. Engers, *The Administration of Egypt under the Lagidae*. Discusses the functions of the ἐπιστάτης τῶν φυλακτιῶν. This officer was concerned with the administration of the νομός; he was charged with the care of public order; though not possessing judicial authority he conducted preliminary investigations; under the direction of the στρατηγός he supervised the collection of the dues payable in respect of royal monopolies. M. Rank, *Nova Phaedriana*. Discusses the relations between Phaedrus and Eutychus. As against Havet, he maintains that the prologue to Book III. is addressed to Eutychus in its entirety; that the latter, though a courtier and immersed in active pursuits, was not 'an illiterate Trimalchio,' and that the poet's object was to persuade E. to throw himself into literature and support P. in his literary quarrels. R. finds traces in the fourth and fifth books, dedicated to a new patron Particulo, of disappointment at E.'s failure to respond. G. E. W. van Hille on Livy xxxiii. 16 seeks to explain the difficulties of the chapter by assuming that the Acarnanians like the Aetolians possessed a council of *Apocleti* with considerable powers to act in emergencies Livy mistook this council for the popular assembly. Van H. thinks the facts were as follows: The *apocleti* in 197 met at Leucas; thence two of them proceeded to the Roman commander, and on returning called together their own supporters among the *apocleti*, and voted an alliance with Rome. Later a full meeting of *apocleti* condemns the proceedings and impeaches the two leaders for treason. The question ultimately comes before the popular assembly, which vetoes the alliance with Rome but acquits the accused. F. Muller contributes emendations on Seneca's *Quaestiones Naturales*, guided by the forms of *clausula* used by Seneca. There are short notes on Juv. VI. 660, Crito p. 44A, Hor. Ep. II. 1. 160, Pers. Sat. 1. 8, and Hesychius' gloss, ἀποφαρίζειν · αὐτοματεῖν.

Revue de Philologie. XL. 4. 1916.

M. Jeanneret, *La Langue des Tablettes d'Exécration latines*. The first part (containing Bibliography, Introduction, and Phonetics) of what promises to be an exhaustive treatise. L. Havet, *Lectulus lit de table*. 'Lectulus' is not a mere diminutive of 'lectus,' but is a dining-couch used for a feast in the open air. In Terence, *Adelphi* 285, 'Et lectus <sis> iube sterni' is suggested. A number of passages in Plautus are discussed. P. Collart, *Nonnos Dionysiaca* VII. 100 sqq. Proposes in line 102 to read σῆμά τε τῆς θεότητος. P. Lejay, *La Dissimilation des Préfixes latins dans l'Écriture*. In the time of Augustine (whose note on *Romans* 1. 21 implies the reading 'inmanis' not 'immanis') dissimilation was the rule. Priscian in the sixth century introduces a strict system of assimilation. P. Lejay, *Un Indicatif dans le Discours indirect*. Defends 'fuerunt' (RV) in Cic. *De Signis* § 8. Bulletin Bibliographique includes a review of S. Gaselee's *Greek MSS. in the old Seraglio*. Revue des Revues et publications d'Académies relatives à l'antiquité classique. These abstracts are carried to the end of 1915.

XLI. 1. 1917.

M. Jeanneret, *La Langue des Tablettes d'Exécration latines*. Phonétique, Morphologie, Formation des Mots, Vocabulaire. Bulletin Bibliographique. J. B. Edwards, *The Demesman in Attic Life* (B. Haussoulie).

Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica. XLV. 4. 1917.

D. Bassi, *Notes on Unedited Papyri from Herculaneum*. Gives a description and fragmentary text of papyrus No. 57, which contains the treatise of Philodemus *Περὶ πᾶντας*. U. Moricca, *The Phoenissae of Seneca*. A long article divided into two parts. In the first it is argued from resemblances of style and thought that the play is rightly attributed to Seneca. In the second the views of Braun, Leo, Pais, Birt, Werner, and others are examined, and three conclusions are reached: (a) That the play is a single tragedy, and not fragments of two separate tragedies; (b) that except for the choric songs it is complete; (c) that the final scene is not unfinished as was maintained by Braun and Birt, but ends with a second exile of Polynices, a version of the story perhaps suggested to the author by the story of Coriolanus. L. Valmaggi, (i.) *Table Manners*. Discusses the evidence against the use of forks in antiquity. (ii) *Echoes from the Classics in Parini*. Discusses three passages of Parini which may be reminiscent of the classics.

Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie. 1917.

July 23. W. Kroll, *Pauly's Realencyclopädie der kl. Altertumswissenschaft*. Eighteenth half-volume. *Imperium-Inugum* (Harder). Reviewed with grateful recognition. Otto Kern, *Krieg und Kult bei den Hellenen* (Nestle). A Rektorat address, published in an enlarged form. Lily R. Taylor, *The Cults of Ostia* (Steuding).

Aug. 6. H. H. Hofmann, *Chorlieder und Handlung bei Euripides* (Nestle). The author has succeeded in delineating the characteristics of the choruses of Euripides. W. Schur, *Die Aeneassage in der spätern römischen Literatur* (Cauer).

Aug. 13. G. Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum* a G. D. condita. III. Ed., Vol. II. (Larfeld). Continues to serve as a welcome complement to our classical authors. C. Lackeit, *Aion: Zeit und Ewigkeit in Sprache und Religion der Griechen. I. Sprache* (Nestle). In this diligent and exact work the history of the meaning of the word αἰών is followed through Greek literature. The second part dealing with the side of religious history will be awaited with interest.

Sept. 10. G. A. Harrer, *Studies in the History of the Roman Province of Syria* (Philipp). Rich in valuable results. F. Pfister, *Tacitus als Historiker*. On Tacitus views on the writing of history.

Sept. 17 (Double number). U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Vitae Homeri et Hesiodi*, ed. U. von W.-M. (Sitzler). Numerous improvements have been made. A. Rehm, *Griechische Windrosen* (Roscher). Marked by thoroughness and insight. H. Sjögren, *M.T. Ciceronis ad Att. ep. libri XVI.*, rec. H. S. Books I.-IV. (Sternkopf). A worthy addition to its predecessors.

Oct. 1. E. Babelow, *Le Rhin dans l'Histoire*; and J. Toutain, *Le Rhin dans l'Antiquité* (Draheim). The reviewer criticizes these works from the patriotic standpoint. K. Loeschhorn, *Zu Aristophanes und Pindar* (Wagner). A small book which should not be overlooked.

Oct. 8 (Double number). D. S. Robertson, *Lucian De Saltatione* (Kraemer). Approved.

Oct. 22. W. H. Roscher, *Die Zahl 50 in Mythos usw. der Hellenen und anderer Völker* (Steuding). A model of an exhaustive philological investigation. C. Wessely, *Aus der Welt der Papyri* (Zucker). The essentials are often distorted by inexactitudes.

THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

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AN UNNOTICED 'SUPPLETIVE' VERB.

THE Antiatticist in Bekker's *Anecdota* 91, 19 (cit. Bruhn, *Wortschatz Menanders*, p. 21), says: εἰσπορεύομαι καὶ ἐκπορεύομαι ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐξέρχομαι, and the statement is confirmed by numerous passages in κοινὴ authors, e.g. οἱ διὰ τῆς πύλης εἰσπορευόμενοι, Polybius X. 15, 3-4; πάντες ὁμνύουσι καθ' ἓνα προπορευόμενοι, id. VI. 21, 3; τῶν καταπορευομένων (said of exiles), id. IV. 17, 9; τὰ κατ' ἰδίαν ἀδικήματα κοινῇ μεταπορεύεσθαι, id. II. 8, 10. Even these few passages suggest that the rule ought to be extended to cover other compounds of ἔρχομαι.

The fullest evidence as to Hellenistic usage in this respect may be obtained from a study of Hatch and Redpath's *Concordance to the Septuagint*. Under the heading ἐξέρχεσθαι about 708 passages are quoted, and of these only 4 contain a Present or Imperfect form. All the rest offer forms from the stems ἐξελθ-, ἐξελευσ- and ἐξεληλυθ-. The explanation is provided by the following table of statistics compiled from Hatch and Redpath:

Verb.	Present or Imperfect.	Other Tenses.
ἐξέρχομαι	4 occurrences	704 occurrences
ἐκπορεύομαι	170 "	4 "
προσέρχομαι	1 "	116 "
προσπορεύομαι	24 "	0 "
παρέρχομαι	3 "	157 "
παραπορεύομαι	38 "	2 "
προέρχομαι	0 "	12 "
προπορεύομαι	30 "	7 "
συνέρχομαι	1 "	24 "
συνπορεύομαι	17 "	11 "
εἰσέρχομαι	9 "	720 "
εἰσπορεύομαι	160 "	8 "

The figures are approximate. 'Other Tenses' means, on the one hand, forms like ἐξῆλθον, ἐξελεύσομαι, ἐξελήλυθα, and on the other forms like ἐκπορεύσομαι, etc.

The conclusion is obvious. The true Present belonging to ἐξῆλθον, ἐξελήλυθα, etc., is not ἐξέρχομαι, but ἐκπορεύομαι (as φέρω is the Present belonging to ὄϊσω, etc.), and similarly in the other cases.

This may be confirmed by passages in which the Present or Imperfect occurs in close proximity to the other tenses which really belong to it. Thus in Polyb. X. 15, 3-4 (see above) the persons designated as οἱ διὰ τῆς πύλης εἰσπορευόμενοι are referred to a little later as τοὺς εἰσεληλυθότας, and in Polyb. IV. 17, 9-18, 1, the words τῶν καταπορευομένων are followed at a short interval by παραχρῆμα κατελθόντες and τῶν κατεληλυθότων. In Ezekiel 46, 10, we read: ἐν τῷ ἐκπορεύεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐξελεύσεται μετ' αὐτῶν.

Other compounds have been purposely omitted from the table because their figures are too low to permit of any conclusion.

The uncompounded ἔρχομαι is not at all rare in Hellenistic Greek, and maintains its existence as the true Present belonging to ἦλθον, ἐλήλυθα, etc. It is found about 200 times (Present and Imperfect) in the Septuagint.

RODERICK MCKENZIE.

MEHERCLE AND HERC(V)LVS.

EVERYONE interested in Latin Etymology knows the last word on *mehercle*, that the old vocative of *meus* is prefixed to the old Second Declension form *Herc(u)lus*, Voc. -*lē*. Without discussing whether this explanation is wholly true or partly wrong, I wish here to disqualify two pieces of evidence. Both originate from a marginal annotation on Rufinus' translation of Eusebius' *Church History* (4, 9, 3 'illud mehercule magnopere curabis') in, I think, a seventh-century English MS. These marginalia were used for the Leyden Glossary and for the common source of the EE (Épinal and Erfurt) and Corpus Glossaries. The compiler of Leid. transferred them unaltered to his pages; and in the section devoted to Rufinus glosses we find (§ 35, 19) *Mehercule: mi fortis*. The other compiler often recasts them for dictionary purposes. He gave this item the form *Herculus: fortis* (Ep. 11 A 26 = C.G.L. V. 364, 23 = Corp. H. 54). But of course the original annotation *mi fortis* was a mere lucky guess, and the substitution of 'Herculus' for *Hercules* was sheer ignorance.

Latin Glossaries have many such pitfalls for the unwary. Occasionally a young scholar who intends to spend his life in the pleasant sport of conjectural emendation tries his prentice hand on glosses, but with comical results. Knowledge is necessary for successful emendation. In all cases, knowledge of 'Ueberlieferungsgeschichte' and the practice of medieval scribes. In the case of an author, knowledge of his diction and style. In the case of glosses, knowledge how the glossary was compiled.

W. M. LINDSAY.

TOWARDS A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TEXT OF PROPERTIUS.

I PURPOSE in this essay to declare by means of a few chosen examples the theory and method upon which I have for over twelve years been proceeding to the restoration of the text of Propertius. I had always hoped to present my results first in their final form; but the long delays and the immediate circumstance of war compel me to a partial presentation of what is now in all essentials a finished work. The examples I choose are mostly those which I used in 1911 in a paper read before the Philological Societies of Cambridge and Oxford; nothing but detail has been changed in any part of my theory since that date.

In the first place it is my design to prove beyond doubt that the received text of Propertius has suffered serious dislocation; thereafter I hope to establish more than a probability that this dislocation befel a manuscript (which was an ancestor of our archetype), written upon pages and leaves of a certain discoverable number of lines; and in the third place I shall indicate, by examples perhaps too few to establish proof, a subsidiary theory which I believe to be capable of proof in detail, a theory of the technique of the poet which attributes to him a 'numerical scheme of composition' for each several poem. By combining these three ideas in the reconstruction of one particular portion of the text I shall present in little a type of my work as a whole.

(a) For the proof of dislocation I have chosen out of many the following poems (old notation): II. x. xi. xiii. xiv. with reference to II. xx. 21; xxiv. 1.

(b) For the recovery of the pagination of the archetype I add II. iv.; iv. i. 38-70 (III. xviii. 8; xx. 10; I. xxii.).

(c) I analyze the numerical schemes of II. xii.; I. xiv.; III. xii.; with reference to III. i. 39, iii. 21; IV. ii. 57; also II. xxvi.; II. xxxiv. 67-94.

A. DISLOCATION.

The theory of dislocation is of course nothing new; but to English readers, accustomed to the texts of Palmer, Phillimore, and Hosius, almost no hint of it is given. I recommend the text of Baehrens as that which will best assist the following of my arguments.

Our II. x. xi. xii. xiii. xiv. is a region to which Lachmann invited attention. In x. Propertius states that Augustus and his wars will henceforward occupy his Muse, *quando scripta puella mea est*. In first youth he sang of loves, but *émeutes* are to be the theme of the end of his life. Yet in the preface to this

book (and prefaces are the latest written portions of books) he confesses that Cynthia is all the theme and inspiration of which he is capable (II. i.), and in vv. 40-42 apologizes to Maecenas for not 'thundering of Gods and Giants' or tracing a Trojan pedigree for Caesar. And in the poem earliest in date of Book II. (written only one month after our Book I., which Martial called the *carmen iuvenale Properti*) we find him saying *turpis de te iam liber alter erit* (II. iii. 3, 4). The earliest and latest poems of Book II. thus agree as to its content; poem x. implies recantation and a time of life inconsistent with a *iuvenale carmen* (v. 7). But x. is confirmed by xi., where in an elegy of six verses, whose brevity is hard to match, he bids Cynthia a stern farewell once more—so final a farewell that it is at least a surprise to find poem xii. amorous, xiii. 1-16 containing a reference to Cynthia as sole worthy critic of his verse, and love and Cynthia the sole subjects of the rest of the book.

xiii. 25 is the verse which chiefly awakened Lachmann's suspicions: *sat mea † sit magna † si tres sint pompa libelli, quos ego Persephonae maxima dona feram*. (Here I find any part of *magnus* intolerable with *maxima* following, and would read *sat mea, sat, magici si tres sint pompa libelli*. . . .) Lachmann maintained not without reason that *tres libelli* means three volumes of poetry. In that case we are now in the third, not the second, volume; for the poet is giving to Cynthia directions for his funeral, presumably imminent, and not to be postponed while a complete book is in the writing. Professor H. E. Butler (Propertius, Introd. p. 14) fails of his accustomed felicity when attempting the refutation of Lachmann. '*Libelli*,' he says, 'does not necessarily mean *books*; it may be used quite vaguely in the sense of *poems, writings*.' He quotes from our Book I. *i quaeso et tristis istos compone libellos* (ix. 13); but Ponticus is engaged upon a Thebaid, which was presumably divided into books, without undue vagueness. From III. he quotes *fortunata, meo si qua es celebrata libello* (ii. 17 [15]), but omits the pentameter: *carmina erunt formae tot monumenta tuae*. Propertius refers to the new book of which this is part of the Introduction, the separate *libellus* containing *tot carmina*. '*Tres*,' continues Professor Butler, 'need not be taken literally, though *tres libelli* might mean no more than *three elegies*.' '*Tres* may equally be regarded as meaning *a few*.' For this equally cogent view he quotes from IV. x. 26 *iugera terna Corae*; but at Cori to this day the site is divided into *three* roughly equal parts by the configuration of the rock, and I would venture to suggest that Propertius is here making a learned reference to this fact.¹ 'Or,' says Professor Butler, 'as the mystic number three,' which, in view of magic-loving Persephone, is indeed part of the truth—but only if it is *three* and not two. 'The truth of Lachmann's view is a matter of opinion.' I believe it to be rather a matter of courage. *Tres libelli* means *three books*;

¹ Romulus distributed to his followers *bina iugera uiritim*, and his own *sors* and *heredium* on the Palatine was 'Roma Quadrata' or one *ager quadratus* of two acres in extent. (See the passages discussed in my article on the Palatium: *J.R.S.*, 1914, vol. i.) The king of Cori had an *arx* in three sections, which Propertius might

scornfully call *iugera*; but if his followers had had land distributed to them on the equitable lines of Romulus, each might have possessed three 'acres,' of which a conquering Roman dispossessed him. At least, I cannot grant that *terna* here is loosely used.

and therefore we must admit that the verse II. xiii. 25 was composed by its author as part of a *third* book. 'Nonius (p. 169) says of the word *secundare*: *Propertius elegiarum libro tertio, iam liquidum nautis aura secundat iter*. The line actually occurs in III. xxi. 14. In view of the general weakness of Lachmann's argument it seems wanton to suppose *tertio* to be an error for *quarto*.' On the contrary, I regard Nonius as strongly confirming Lachmann's main contention that there were five books in all. The MSS. of Martial (xiv. 188) call our Book I. *Cynthia, siue monobiblos* (cf. Prop. II. xxiv. 2). The series of books whose patron was Maecenas begins at II. i. Nonius is evidence that these were known to the grammarians as the *Elegiarum libri*, of which our third book was actually the third. That these were considered separate from the *Cynthia* is shown not only by its sub-title *monobiblos*, but by a fact adduced by Mr. B. L. Ullman. When Caesius Bassus wishes to quote from Propertius a perfect dactylic pentameter to match the first pentameter in Tibullus I. i. *dum meus adsiduo luceat igne focus*, his choice falls on *unde meus ueniat mollis in ora liber*, the first in our II. i., not on *Cynthia* i. 20, still less on 4 or 14 with their Greek sound. This certainly suggests a *Liber Elegiarum* beginning at II. i. 1. And the good MSS.¹ B and H point to the same conclusion, for they bear a double subscription after our Book IV. *Propertii Aurelii Nautae monobiblos feliciter explicit uel liber elegiarum Propertii finit*. The first half refers back to the original title of our Book I., the second seemingly to a second title, more closely connected with our Book IV. (The MSS. μ and ν however give *elegiarum liber quartus et ultimus explicit* (μ), *finit* (ν), which seems to derive from the same source). It is a fair inference that our archetype combined within one cover both *Cynthia* and *Liber Elegiarum*; but to the grammarians they were distinct. If our third book is truly third of the periodic *elegiarum libelli*, which together made up the *Liber*, our second, which is far longer than any other extant book of Roman Elegies, must contain both the first and the second of the author's arrangement.

Lachmann proposed to end his Book II. before poem x. and to make x. the Preface to his Book III. (He counted the *Cynthia* as Book I.) But the address to Augustus there is quite inconsistent with what follows, for the rest of his book is concerned with love and *Cynthia*. And there are still weightier objections. At II. xx. 21 Propertius gives an explicit date: *septima iam plenae deducitur orbita lunae, cum de me et de te compita nulla tacent*. He looks back over the half-year that separates the day from that of the publication of the *Cynthia* and the beginning of their notoriety.

Still later in our book (xxiv. 1) he writes: *tu loqueris* (a friend is speaking) *cum sis iam noto fabula libro, et tua sit toto Cynthia lecta foro*. One book, the *Cynthia*, is all that has yet been published. Here too we are within the period of the composition of the immediately succeeding volume, and his popular fame is undiminished.

Let us return to II. xiii. Here at v. 13 he makes one of his two references

¹ For these see *Journal of Philology*, xxxi. pp. 162-196.

to detractors (the other is in the Introduction to Book III.): *populi confusa ualeto fabula: nam domina iudice tutus ero*. The *fabula* is now not unequivocal praise. He must then have published, since II. xxiv. was composed, something which has tarnished the fame of the *Cynthia*. And twelve lines later in our texts comes the reference to *tres libelli*.

Lachmann then, though right in his suspicions, must be wrong in his constructive criticism; when he constitutes x. the first poem of a third book thence succeeding. For at least two succeeding poems *must* belong to a second book.

Yet II. x., considered alone, is remarkably like the introduction to a new book, as Lachmann perceived, and moreover provides detail indicating its date. In the Introduction to Book III. (i. 16) he writes of *finem imperii Bactra futura*. Augustus has not yet reached the limits of Alexander. The Arabian expedition of Aelius Gallus took effect in the year 23. Since III. xviii. dates from August of that year (Marcellus's death), and the Palatine Library (i. 38) *cannot* have been opened earlier than 24 B.C., owing to Augustus's absence from Rome, 27-24, and was probably not ready till 23-22 B.C. (see *C.Q.* XI. p. 104; *J.R.S.* 1914), we can be sure that this book was being composed during 23. One of its earliest poems (iv. v.) foretells the Eastern expeditions of Gallus and Agrippa. Crassus is not yet avenged: *Crassos clademque piate; ite et Romanae consulite historiae* (iv. 9): *Crassi signa referte domum* (v. 48). *Arma deus Caesar dices meditatur ad Indos* (iv. 1).

But in our poem II. x. the East is already subject: India bows down (15), Arabia trembles (16), Crassus is avenged (24), Euphrates is no more a barrier (13). We seem to be in the period subsequent to 20 B.C., when the standards were recovered, a period which saw the composition (actually in 16 B.C.) of IV. vi., where vv. 79, 80=our 13; 81, 82=our 17, 18; 83, 84=our 13, 14, *ire per Euphraten, iam negat Euphrates*.

Now if II. x. really dates from any year subsequent to 23 B.C. it can only belong to our Book IV.; for the date of Book III. is firmly fixed in 23 B.C. But we have already noticed that the poet explicitly records in vv. 7, 8 the passing of his youth and the *completion* of his love-elegies. So let me point out two tentative suggestions by previous critics.

Postgate, unable to accept II. x. 7, 8 in a book concerned chiefly with *Cynthia*, brackets them, and proposes that they should be inserted in the present first poem of Book IV. But is it likely that a scribe who found this reference to *aetas extrema* in Book IV. would transplant it to a passage in Book II.? And how else could a single couplet be spirited *backwards*: the tendency is always to insert omissions at some later point. Baehrens records an even more remarkable proposal of Fontaine with regard to the six verses of xi. immediately succeeding x. 26. He wished to join them to the last couplets of our Book III. and make them part of the conclusion of the *Dirae* and recantation of III. xxiv. xxv. It is a curious coincidence, perhaps, that two of the acutest Propertian scholars should independently connect verses from this region with the point at which Books III. and IV. now divide; not least because Book IV. is the only one which

begins without an Introduction or Dedication of a formal kind, and the one which of all the books we should most expect to be so adorned, seeing that it is on a more elaborate scale and concerned with higher matters than the rest.

To recapitulate. Concentrating upon one region of the text, already suspected by the prince of Latinists because of the simple meaning of two Latin words, we have seen that II. x. xi. refer to our Books I. II. III. as already concluded; that xiii. refers to Book II. as already concluded (13) and to Book III. as well under way (25), but at the same time that much later in the period of our Book II. nothing but the *Cynthia* in one volume has yet appeared, and that we have not passed the seventh month since its appearance.

Without calling more evidence I submit that it is proved that our text has suffered from dislocation of a complicated kind.

B. THE MS. WHICH SUFFERED DISLOCATION.

Lucian Mueller¹ claims to have sought, but in vain, for the pagination of a Propertian archetype. Scaliger repeated the story of Alessandro Alessandri to the effect that the archetype of Propertius was discovered in the fifteenth century in a battered condition; he made it an excuse for the inauguration of a school of jig-saw which is not yet dead. (But the key-picture may be a necessity for this art). I have said elsewhere (*Journ. of Philol.* XXXI. pp. 175, 195) that some of the MSS. of the family I call C are themselves dislocated, and that the story may refer to a really old and really battered copy, which was not however the archetype.

Lachmann's reconstructed archetype of Lucretius was the immediate parent of two very old but extant MSS. The isolated fragments copied out at the end of the later MS. were still in their place in the earlier. Certain leaves fell out of the archetype in the period between the two, and were inserted together at the end. The number of lines upon the leaves of the archetype could thus be easily inferred; in old MSS. this is usually constant throughout.

The archetype of Propertian MSS. is very far behind our extant copies, and the order of its text was theirs. If dislocation has taken place, it was at a point in the tradition still further back than our archetype, which was, of course, the *latest* from which all extant MSS. are descended. The pagination of the archetype is likely to be immaterial; that of its damaged ancestor must be the object of our quest. Fulgentius in the sixth century quotes as from Propertius the verse *diuidias mentis conficit omnis amor*, which is not found in our MSS. Between him and the scribe of our Neapolitanus at Wolfenbüttel over 600 years intervene, plenty of time for the decay of a binding or for the neglect of so unascetic a poet, even to the tearing out of his leaves to serve a holier purpose. No instance can be quoted of a classical writer's works being deliberately mutilated and disarranged. The damage in our case was presumably due to accident, ignorance, or mere age. The critical faculty is more likely to come into play when the damage has to be made good as far as possible—that is,

¹ Preface to his Teubner text.

in a copy of a dislocated exemplar. Signs of editing then in our archetype would confirm the theory of dislocation at an earlier stage. There are many such signs.

Signs of Dislocation and of Editing in our IV. 1.

I have briefly pointed out in *C.Q.* for April, 1917, XI. p. 103, some of the reasons which have led me to the assurance that in our II. xxxiv. 61-94 we have *two* distinct references to Virgil, of which vv. 61-66 belongs to the year 23-22 B.C., while vv. 67-94 are a complete elegy removed from the end of the *Cynthia* and of date 26 B.C. The junction of such passages from kinship of subject (and that a favourite subject) would be a natural idea for an editing corrector, whose exemplar had fallen to pieces. I also refer there to the fate of the passage on the poet's birthplace, our IV. i. 61-66. In connection with this latter I propose now to discuss briefly the whole region of the text, IV. i. 38-70.

(i.) Lachmann postulated a lacuna after 38 and after 54. The intervening passage, 39-54, is certainly inconsistent with what precedes and what follows. But let us take certain points in detail:

(a) In vv. 1-38 the poet has sung only of the small beginnings of Rome, the nakedness of the land of Romulus. In v. 48 Italy is already a *felix terra*; the omens of Troy have been fair (*huc melius*, 39; *iam bene*, 41). There is no hint of *lacrimae* in 1-38, or 39-54, or in 55-70; yet in 73 Propertius is rebuked for the sadness of his note.

(b) But vv. 87, 88 sound like an *anticipation* of such a passage as contains our vv. 47, 48, and 53, 54. Yet they are themselves inconsistent with the *lacrimae* of 73; for the soothsayer rebukes Propertius for his sadness, and then proceeds to describe Aeneas's pilgrimage as *longa sepulchra*.

(c) vv. 71-76 and 87, 88 prepare one for a recitation *by the soothsayer* of the *fata Aeneae*: Propertius himself, the speaker of 1-38, 55-70, seems rather interested in the *moenia* of Romulus (57). When the soothsayer proceeds to his recitation, vv. 109-118 take us only to the scattering of the Greek fleet, and stop short exactly at the point where the *fata* become of interest to Rome. Our vv. 39-48 pick up the tale at this very point.

(d) The style of vv. 39-54 is more like the soothsayer's than like that of 1-38; but style alone is a dangerous criterion.

Many scholars have wished to connect 38 and 55, 56: *sanguinis altricem non pudet esse lupam, optima nutricum nostris lupa Martia rebus*. . . . If we could show cause for the rejection from this passage of vv. 39-54 the juncture would be made.

(ii.) But vv. 55 to 70 constitute a still more vexed passage.

(a) Baehrens (at 57) speaks of a corrector, *qui fragmina dissita collegit*. Luetjohann proposes to strike out as spurious vv. 65, 66. Housman would insert them in the last poem of the *Cynthia*, much as Postgate would

join the most recalcitrant couplet of II. x. to the poem now under discussion. But can they be severed from 61-64? The *patria* of 60 can only mean Italy, whose centre is Rome, in view of *moenia* (56, 57). The poet claims to be a good Augustan by now and no more a provincial Umbrian. With this 61-66 are quite at variance. In 65 I accept Professor H. E. Butler's correction of my conjecture; for the evidence on which *scandentis qui Asis* . . . is based see my article, *Journ. of Philol.* XXXI. p. 170. Verses 63 to 66 become thus altogether Umbrian: the *patria* of 64 cannot be the *patria* of 60. Again, 57 and 60 invoke the poet's powers to attempt a quasi-heroic strain. It is therefore strange that in 61, 62 he should deprecate 'shaggy' epic and call upon Bacchus for a smooth wreath of his ivy, the more so that in 73 Apollo, the founder and the seer of fate, but not Bacchus of the lighter lay, is in question. Of all occasions on which Bacchus might be invoked surely the least likely is when a song of foundations is to be assayed *pio uersu*; not even Ennius' addiction to Bacchus (61) will make this tolerable in a city where Bacchic rites were still forbidden in public. Here then is another passage, 61-66, which we must mark off from 55-60 as clearly as we mark off that from 39-54.

(b) Verses 67-70 are inconsistent not only with 61-66 (*Roma, tibi surgit opus: superbiat Vmbria libris*), but with both 55-60 and 71-74, which agree together that the poet's intention has been to sing of foundations and of fate (71); now he inopportunately asserts that his plan is rather to sing a Hesiodic strain, of things holy, of days, of ancient place-names. The sooth-sayer was hard of hearing if he thought him rushing at all rashly to sing of fate.

I should not give space to all these difficulties, if I had no solution of them. The first suggestion which I desire to emphasize is that vv. 61-66 do not appear here by chance. The reference to the *patria* in each passage has led an editing corrector to insert them, where a superficial likeness tempted him. But their removal from another place was surely conditioned by a dislocation there, which obscured meanings and caused the critical faculty to come into play. This combination of autobiographical passages is to be likened to that of the passages concerning Virgil (p. 64, above); nor is that the only parallel in our text. In order to understand how vv. 61-66 came to be removed, we must consider, and if possible visualize, the conditions under which the copyists of a damaged exemplar would work.

The Copying of a Damaged Exemplar.

It is most improbable, for instance, that a scribe copying three consecutive and complete quires would extract from an intelligible context a passage within these clear bounds and insert it at a distance of eight whole quires. If on the other hands, after three complete quires, he came upon a number of loose leaves comprising part of the next quire and parts of quires further on which had at some time fallen out, he might well hesitate to copy them in the haphazard order

in which he found them, and search for contexts or for kindred subject-matter. He would be particularly puzzled if, after a gap in the sense, he came upon a series of consecutive pages the first of which was headed by *the last lines of a lost elegy*. What to do with this headless and bodiless tail, which his honesty forbids him to omit? He will first look for a body it might fit; but failing that he must either spoil his consecutive series by a fragmentary opening, or hold the short passage in reserve till a somewhat similar context arrives, or till he reaches the end of the series, when he will perhaps insert it at the bottom of a leaf, as he would do with an accidental omission later detected.

Lachmann and Schrader offer us a good example of what I mean at II. iv. In the MSS. *his saltem ut teneat iam finibus* follows without sign upon v. 44 of elegy iii. Scaliger perceived that this passage cannot belong to iii. At the same time the MSS. begin a new elegy at v. 11, *multa prius*; and ten verses are too few for a complete elegy from 1 to 10. Lachmann, Schrader, and others therefore begin the elegy at *his saltem* and ignore the MSS. at v. 11, though the conspicuous illuminated letter now given to *Multa* was the last thing likely to have shifted on this page. Imagine our scribe, perhaps less of a Latinist than Schrader or Lachmann, faced with such a problem as this. He has ended a page of the exemplar at *Hesperios* (II. iii. 44); the next leaf is a loose one followed by others also loose. He has no certainty that the next *was* the next always. He dare not pretend that the M of *Multa* is not illuminated; shall he begin his next page with the beginning of iv. from that point and keep the ten first verses of the exemplar's page in reserve? He decides that the *fines* indicated in the first lines are the East and West of iii. 44, and that these ten verses are but the end of iii.

Let us imagine the case slightly different. He comes to a full stop at the bottom of a leaf of the exemplar at iii. 44: he has no idea which of the jumbled loose leaves following ought to come next. So he sorts them through, and finds one at some distance beginning *his saltem ut teneat iam finibus*. He snatches at a straw, and infers that the *fines* are our East and West, and brings the whole leaf up to follow iii. 44. If he does not alter the disordered units *within themselves* and respects always the illuminated letters, he will on the whole be doing less harm than Lachmann and Schrader. But he may not be consistent any more than later editors. He may, in such a disordered region as we conceive, begin to copy a leaf next in order and after a line or two perceive that it is a false join. He may then set this leaf aside for a more favourable moment, and when that comes insert *the rest* of the page, with a reference back to its first verses already copied. Or he may treat certain of the loose and isolated leaves as units in themselves, to be doctored into some sort of literary shape. He may indicate the beginning of a new elegy, when really it is only the beginning of an isolated page, to show that at least the following verses do not belong to the leaf last copied. This supposition would explain, for instance, the appearance of an otherwise inexplicable illuminated letter in *cod. Neapolitanus* at II. xxvi. 29: *Seu mare per longum mea cogitet ire puella*. If in this neighbourhood a

new leaf began which was isolated from the context once preceding, a scribe might indicate this isolation by giving the sign for a new elegy to the first extant verse which could by any manner of means stand at the head of the passage. But for suppositions of this sort to become concrete, it is absolutely necessary first to recover *the number of lines* which stood upon each page and leaf of such an exemplar. I shall omit the experimental stages, the false trails, and the misjudged evidence among which I have from time to time wandered, and present briefly some of the facts of our case.

The Pagination of the Damaged Exemplar.

We return first to the region whence we set out, II. x. xi. xiii. Is there any hint hereabouts of a common factor to the various sums of verses which on literary grounds awoke suspicion? If x. and xi. seem to belong between our Books III. and IV., perhaps they stood upon a loose leaf which fell out from that region. The sum of verses is $26+6=32$; this would mean a page of as few as 16 verses, that is an uncial page. But we notice at once that xiii., which seems to belong to a third book (v. 25), breaks off in sense (and in most modern editions) after 16 verses. Turning on to xiv. we find a poem apparently of 32 verses, but on examination we perceive (with Fischer and Postgate) that the last four of these ought to be the conclusion of another elegy, and that xiv. ends naturally at v. 28 with the inscription. Is this, or is it not, a parallel case to x., xi.? There too we seem to detect *the end* of an elegy in the six lone verses of xi., and that of an elegy which, judging by x. 7, 8, should *precede* the one it now follows. At the end of xviii. is a passage treating of false hair and paint, which Kuinoel and most succeeding scholars divide from the rest of the context. It is 16 lines long.

After v. 10 of xxii. Fontaine and Baehrens indicate a lacuna; after v. 42 all critical editors do the same. From point to point are 32 lines. From xxii. 43 to xxiv. 16, where Scaliger first marked a lacuna, are $32+16$ verses. There are three more isolated passages of 16 lines before elegy xxxii.: i.e. xxvii., xxviii. 47-62, xxxi. So far as our Book II. is concerned 16 seems a likely unit enough.

We turn on to III. xviii. and following poems. After xviii. 8 most scholars suppose a number of lines to have been lost, for Marcellus is nowhere named in the extant poem nor is his illness, to which our vv. 9, 10 refer. On our view the most probable explanation of some such loss is that a page has not been copied or a leaf has fallen out of the ancestor MS. Now after xx. 10 is an equally clear case of a lacuna: the wooing and the winning are two incidents, not one, as Scaliger pointed out. A page or leaf, on our view, has been omitted here. From xviii. 9 to xx. 10 are $26+28+10=64$ verses or 4 pages of 16 (I am not entering into all details here or anywhere, but giving the broad outlines).

Let us count on from this point to the end of the book. We have $20+34+42+24+38$ lines = 158, or two short of 160, 10 pages of 16. But after v. 36 of xxii. at least one couplet has fallen out of the catalogue of monsters, for *arboreasque cruces Sinis* (37) has no construction. (The suggestion is as old as Livineius.)

Supposing one couplet to have been lost since the time of our hypothetical MS., the last verse of our Book III. would fall at the bottom of a leaf, if xx. 10 and xviii. 8 were also bottom lines.

We soon find an indication of the same unit in Book IV.; for the verses of Elegy i. which Lachmann separated off, that is, 39-54, are 16 in number. It was my suggestion that they are in the style of the soothsayer; if that is so, they must have once stood in the text at some point later than the entry of that character at v. 71. Let us suppose these 16 verses to be a misplaced page copied too soon, and disregard it. I wish to concentrate the reader's attention upon the region from III. xxiv. 38 to iv. 1-70, and here bring this part of my argument to a climax.

In IV. i. 1-70, setting aside vv. 39-54, we have $38 + 16$ verses (vv. 55-70); vv. 55-60 now follow immediately upon 38 (*lupam*). But after v. 60 we saw the probability that vv. 61-66 and 67-70 have been added by an editor who was grouping fragments of similar content, at the expense of vv. 71-74, which belong rather to the context of vv. 57-60. The last four of these alien verses *Roma faue . . . to equus* are bound to belong to this last book, however, for nowhere else does he celebrate *cognomina prisca locorum*. And seeing that vv. 1-38 are full of such primitive names and of *sacra*, it is more natural that our future *canam* (69) should belong to a *preceding* poem, or to the beginning of this, than to any other part of the book. Verses 61-66, on the other hand, sound much more like the *Cynthia*. Umbria is not yet famous for its poet-son (*superbiat*). Yet, as we know, the *Cynthia* had an immediate success (II. vii. 18), *gloria ad hibernos lata Borysthenidas*. Tullus had been asking Propertius for information about his 'genus' and his 'Penates' during the composition of the *Cynthia*, and in our I. xxii. 1-10 the poet apparently sets out to satisfy this curiosity. All the answer given, however, is, 'If you know Perugia, I was born in neighbouring Umbria, where the spur joins the plain below' (9, 10). There is no exact explanation of *qualis et unde genus*. It seems at least a plausible working hypothesis that these six verses, having become separated from *Cynthia* xxii. by some accidental separation of leaves, were here inserted by an editor searching for a context. Let us see the effect of such an experiment as their removal upon our poem IV. i. 70. Omitting now not only vv. 39-54 but 61-66, we have $38 + 6 + 4 = 48$ verses, or 3 pages of 16; of which the first $38 + 6$ (as far as v. 60) are consecutive, and to which vv. 71 and following seem to bear immediate relation.

Except then that we have a series of 48 lines instead of 32, this is a repetition of the circumstances noticed in II. x. xi. and II. xiv, where also a longer passage was followed by a short passage, which seems to have once formed the conclusion of a *preceding* elegy. In each case, if we are right in detecting leaves and pages, the first line of the series as we have it was the first of the longer group of lines. For if, as we have seen, III. xxiv. 38 can be the bottom line of a leaf, IV. i. can begin at the top of the next. If the reader will consider these three passages at his leisure, he will find, as I did, that only one supposition accounts for the state of the text, and that a very simple supposition. Since in II. x. Propertius says

scripta puella mea'st, and in II. xi. is still saying good-bye, *place xi. before x.* as the conclusion of the once *preceding* elegy; since in xiv. 1-28 he is recording his love-victory and in 29-32 his vow of suicide should he lose, place 29-32 before xiv. 1 as the conclusion of the once *preceding* elegy; since IV. i. 67-70 he is asking favour for a Hesiodic book on Roman antiquities, place the four verses immediately before the present first verse of the book, as the conclusion of a preface now misplaced. In each the simplest explanation of the appearance of the short passage at the bottom instead of at the top of the leaf would be that, the context being lost with the loss of a leaf preceding, the scribe began his copy of the new section with the first verse of a poem, and deposed the torn fragment to the end of the leaf or section.

In our IV. i., then, I propose first to order the verses thus (in main outline): (a) vv. 67-70 (at the top of a new leaf), (b) 1-38, (c) 55-60, when 60 is the bottom of the third page; 67-70 were omitted and held in reserve till 60 had been copied, when (a page of the exemplar being finished) it was inserted as of seemingly similar content, and with it another torn fragment from another region which also seemed here to the point.

By now the reader suspects the *dénouement*. Between the present last verse of Book III. (last of a leaf of 32) and the leaves now following I propose to insert one whole misplaced leaf of 32 lines, hitherto called II. x. xi. Our II. xi. 1-6 are to be nothing but the last 6 verses of Book III.; and II. x. 1-26 are to be the first 26 of the preface to Book IV. This will be concluded at the top of the next leaf by the now misplaced verses IV. i. 67-70. Let us remember that, as we saw (p. 62) these 26 lines contain references to events later than Book III., and promise a Homeric strain (to which even the poems on Actium and Bactria, with the first, on the 'Fata Troiae et populi Romani,' hardly aspire); and that they view the *Cynthia* elegies as a thing long past and his own youth as written off with them. And then we perceive that the last couplet (here, I am told, Professor Verrall had anticipated me),

nondum etiam *Ascræos* norunt mea carmina fontes,
sed modo *Permessi* flumine lauit Amor,

refers to a literally Boeotian Helicon, to Ascra of Hesiod as opposed to the new Achilles' Roman warfare; to this will now succeed the Roman Hesiod's incipient strain, 'I will sing of holy rites and days and antique names of places'—a promise fulfilled in six of the succeeding poems, our IV. i. ii. iv. vi. ix. x.

In order that my reader might visualize the proposed restoration of this region of the text, I hoped to print here as a plate the series of leaves of the ancestor MS. which would have been covered by it. But since the explanation cannot be fully given until the third section of this essay is set forth, I reserve comment at this point.

C. PROPERTIUS' SCHEMES OF COMPOSITION.

The results obtained by the theory of pagination, which enables us to restore pages, leaves, and groups of leaves in order as they stood in the ancestor MS., will be found to be startlingly exact, for almost nothing has been lost since that

ancestor's wreck was copied. In our Book II. it is probable that we possess *every verse* that still survived the wreck of *elegiarum libelli* I. and II. But fortunately there is a further test than the 16-lined page, by which junctures and fragments may be tried. Close study of Propertius at all points where the text is not in doubt reveals that he was a formalist, who composed each elegy on a numerical, that is, a musical, scheme of balance. Where our paginal reconstruction provides such numerical schemes intact, we have something like certainty that the reconstruction is true; where such schemes break off we have a fragment of a poem.

Let us examine the structure of a short poem, II. xii., very characteristic of his Alexandrian manner, where the text is hardly in doubt. It is not a Romanized, not even a Propertianized, poem: Cynthia is not named. The probabilities are that this is a close adaptation of a well-known model, perhaps by that shadow of a man, Philetas (v. 20). The writer stands before a picture of the boy Cupid, winged, quivered, and with barbed arrows ready in his hand. He is in flight over a sea of troubles. Between vv. 1 and 12 the allegory is interpreted for lovers in general; from v. 13 to v. 24 the writer cites his own particular case. Thus from 1-12 we have *amantes* (3), *iactamur* (7), *nostra* (8), *cernimus* (11), *nec quisquam* (12); but after 12 *in me* (13), *meo sanguine* (16), which shows that *nostro*, if sound, in 15 is loosely used for *meo*, *ego*, *mea* (20), *mea* (22). The point of view then shifts at v. 13, which in the words *puerilis imago* refers back to *puerum Amorem* in v. 1: his boyhood is not elsewhere remarked. The poem divides itself unmistakably at v. 12 into two equal sections—one general, one intimate.

There is further subdivision indicated. At vv. 7, 11, 15 the word *quoniam* is found next to the caesura; in v. 11 it occurs *before* the caesura, varying its fall in 7 and 15. Our ear then tells us that the stanzas of four are separate combinations; 5-8, 9-12, 13-16 are quatrains. There is left a quatrain at the beginning, and so we may be sure that the last 8 lines are thought of as two quatrains. But it is clear that vv. 9-12 hang closely upon 5-8; there is an *et* between: and similarly 21-24 hang closely upon 17-20, for *quam* takes up *umbra mea*.

We find a scheme then 4, 4+4: 4, 4+4; but besides the direct reference to v. 1 in v. 13 there is a subtle suggestion in this third *quoniam* quatrain of a counter-balance of the three interior fours against the first and the last two; and thus the two halves are doubly knit. We can go further: the internal balance of these six quatrains indicates yet a third correspondence, as subtly veiled.

The four central quatrains are each built up so that the first line corresponds to the fourth and the second to the third. Thus: (5) *uentosas alas* (wings to float with the breeze)=*non permanet aura* (8); (6) *humano corde uolare*, the god flutters in human frailty, as (7) lovers toss from crest to trough of the wave. [I fancy that Cupid is flying low over the sea, as Watts painted him, else we should have to take *undae* as *aeriae undae* (Lucr. 2. 152).] The incurable wound of 12 is inflicted by the *barb* of the arrows (9); the reason why we do not perceive that he is our enemy and are not on our guard (11) is that his quiver does not show from the front, it lies across *both* shoulders (10). The *assiduus* of 16 and the *bella*

answer the *tela* and the *manet*, *manet*, of 13. *Pennas perdidit* (14) = *euolat nusquam* (15). *Siccis habitare medullis* (17) is answered by *tenuis uapulat umbra* (20); *intactos templatere ueneno* (19) confirms the correction *alio traice tela* (not *bella*) above.

But the first and last quatrains *balance against one another*, couplet one against couplet four, and the second against the third. Thus the childish thoughtlessness of Love (3) might destroy (21) the singer of such music as this, which, light fancy though it be (22), is Love's own greatest glory, and so (4) would perish a great good for a light fancy (*leuis* and *magnus* in each pentameter). But how exquisitely subtle is the contrast of the first and last couplets! For though *quicumque ille fuit, qui*, the nameless, immaterial painter, is answered not in 23 but in 21 by *quis erit, qui?*—ah, who but Philetas himself?—yet that intimate answer is carried on in *qui* of 23, and instead of the painted mute *boy* form of the generalized Hellenistic Eros which the first line conjures up, we end with the head and fingers and black eyes and twinkling ankles of the one *girl*, 'whose beauty made him speak that else was dumb.'

Thus yet a third combination of quatrains is disclosed: *a, b b b b, a*. The rhythms of the sense and the assonances of certain key-words stir the bright surface into a little sea of billowy curves when once the imagination of the reader has breathed upon them.

Further Examples of Numerical Scheme.

In *C.Q.* for April, 1917 (XI. p. 103), I have pointed out that our II. xxxiv. 67-94 constitutes a complete poem addressed to Virgil. The numerical scheme of it is particularly simple, for Virgil's ten *Eclogues* and four books of *Georgics* suggest to Propertius the numbers to use. He gives 10 verses to the former and 4 to the latter, and balances 10 + 4 with 4 + 10. Each group of 10 subdivides into 4 + 6: 67-70, 71-76, 85-88, 89-94. The *felix, felix* of 71, 73, bind those couplets and separate them from 67-70, as the *haec quoque* of 85, 87 bind those and separate them from *haec etiam, et modo, quin etiam* (89, 91, 93). *Tu canis* introduces the 10 and the 4; the end of the 10 is *ille laudatur* (76) and of the 4 *Cynthia*, and each of these is echoed in *Cynthia . . . laudata* (93). The numerical scheme of this poem is thus constructed:

$$\underbrace{4+6(\widehat{4\cdot2})}_{10}, 4 \parallel \underbrace{4+6(\widehat{4\cdot2})}_{10}, 4$$

An equally simple scheme to analyze is that of our II. xxvi. 1-20, which, like the last poem, is not divided off by the MSS. as a separate whole.

The scheme $6+4 \parallel 6+4$ can be further subdivided thus: $\widehat{4\cdot2}+4 \parallel \widehat{2\cdot4}+4$, where the couplet on Helle corresponds to the quatrain on Glaucus, the couplet 11, 12, to the quatrain 1-4.

It will be observed that, if this view of elegiac structure be a true one, certain qualities of the lyric have been interwoven. We may be nearer to understanding Ovid's comment upon Callimachus: *quamuis ingenio non ualet, arte ualet*. We

will now take two poems, one from the *Cynthia*, our xiv., one from the *Liber Elegiarum tertius*, our xii., poems which are clearly marked off as complete by our MSS., and in which there is no question of lost couplets or derangement (though the second has one spurious pentameter).

Cynthia xiv., *tu licet abiectus*, has 24 verses like II. xii, above, but does not divide at v. 12. It divides naturally at vv. 8 and 16 into three stanzas. Within each stanza of eight there is an equally clear distinction between the first six and last two verses; the last couplets have the effect of a varied refrain.

- (a) non tamen ista meo ualeant contendere amori; (7, 8)
nescit Amor magnis cedere diuitiis.
(b) nam quis diuitiis aduerso gaudet Amore? (15, 16)
nulla mihi tristi praemia sint Venere.
(c) quae mihi dum placata aderit, non ulla uerebor (23, 24)
regna uel Alcinoi munera despiciere.

Here 15 refers to 8, 23 to 16; but the last verse draws in the threads from stanzas two and one, *regna* referring specially to v. 13, *Alcinoi munera* to the gardens of 5 and the banquet of 1. If the reader will mark off these three stanzas of eight, each subdivided into six + two, he will readily perceive further artistry of balance within the groups of six. Since *tu* (1) is carried on to *mireris* (3) the arrangement of vv. 1-8 is in detail $\widehat{4}2$, 2; whereas 9-16 is shown by *siue*, *seu*, and *tum*, *tum* to be arranged as $\widehat{2}4$, 2, which is also the form of vv. 17-24, since 17, 18 refer to hard spirits and 19-22 to soft.

The second and third stanzas are still closer assimilated by the break in each after the fifth line, i.e., after *reges* (13) and *cubili* (21). The many other details of design which must have so pleased a literary reader of the period do not affect the question of the numerical scheme and must be passed over here. It will be enough if it has been made evident that this poem does not merely consist of twelve couplets, but is built upon a numerically ordered pattern.

III. xii. *Postume, plorantem.*

The moral of this poem is summed up in its last couplet, which stands outside the scheme, as do the last couplets of e.g., *Cynthia* v., vii., viii^a, ix., xix. (three of which are introduced by *quare*). Verses 1-36 are thus built up. In 23-36 we have a passage of 14 verses cataloguing the delays and wanderings of the old Ulysses, which balance the first 14 on Postumus, the modern deserter of his wife. Dividing these equal groups of verses are eight contrasting Postumus with Galla, his light morals with her loyalty; they fall into two quatrains, 15-18, 19-22, and at v. 19 (*sed securus eas*) we begin the second half of the poem and the second subject of Ulysses and Penelope. The *munera* and *duritia* of 19, 20 refer back to vv. 1-6, particularly to 3 and 4. Each of the main groups—fourteen, eight, fourteen—has Postumus named in its first line (1, 15, 23); Galla is named twice (1, 15), and though Ulysses supplants her in v. 23, she has the *envoi* (37, 38) to herself.

The groups of fourteen are to be subdivided like the group of eight. From

v. 24 to v. 28 the adventures of Ulysses are described by *nouns*, from v. 29 to v. 36 by *verbs in the perfect infinitive*, all of which occupy the penultimate place in the line. (Verse 30 is spurious, as has been perceived by others; it should give us another adventure, probably that of Aeolus, with a perfect infinitive in the penultimate place.) In this way the sound and the grammar mark off the six first verses from the latter eight. Turning to vv. 1-14 we find that they too divide after v. 6. Verses 5, 6 are a moralizing conclusion to vv. 1-4; *uaesane* (7) 'makes a new address to Postumus; *tu tamen* (7) and *illa quidem* (9), like *uaesane*, contrast the persons without naming them as they are named in 1-4. Verse 14 concludes with a moralization like 5, 6.

The whole poem then is to be resolved into a scheme of

$$\widehat{6:8}, \widehat{4} \parallel \widehat{4}, \widehat{6:8} \parallel 2.$$

[I may note that in v. 7 the true reading is *intexta (lacerna)*, preserved by the C MSS.; cf. *textitur haec castris quarta lacerna tuis*, IV. iii. 18, of the same pair of persons. The phrase *Ciconum mons, Ismara Calpe* (25) means that the poet rejects the view that Ulysses went to Gibraltar itself, and finds a Calpe among the Ismarians.]

In the light even of this limited analysis we can perceive the possibility of new meaning in such allusions to his own art as Propertius makes in *incipi iam angusto uersus includere torno* (II. xxxiv. 43), in *cur tua praescripto seuecta est pagina gyro* (III. iii. 21), or in *carminis interea nostri redeamus in orbem* (III. ii. 1, old style). The circle or wheel of his art brings the scheme round to its inevitable and measured end: it is perfectly balanced. But before me Robinson Ellis had expressed his belief in such numerical schemes underlying our damaged text of Propertius [Catullus, vol. I. pp. 221, 222], and moreover had detected the strongest piece of internal evidence. Vertumnus, at the close of a now disordered poem (our IV. ii. 57), says:

*sex superant uersus (te, qui ad uadimonia curris,
non moror): haec spatiis ultima creta meis.*

The understanding reader will know at this point that the scheme is incomplete without a group of eight verses to balance vv. 1-8 of the true text. These are two of them, *and six remain*.

Robinson Ellis also anticipated me in detecting the numerical scheme of Callimachus's *Bath of Pallas*, with its triads of tens and twelves. The other evidence which I shall hope later to call in support of this theory would altogether outweigh the present essay.¹

Let us then finally apply the test to our reconstructed Preface to *Elegies*, Book IV.: that is, the verses now II. x. 1-26 and IV. i. 67-70, kept in the relative order given by the MSS. [See p. 69.] The subdivisions are in the main marked

¹ This part of my theory dates from 1908-9, upon a similar idea—but from a fundamentally different standpoint.

out for us by the repetition of the significant key-word *magnus*, with which he flatters his patron here as elsewhere (cf. *at magnus Caesar. Sed magnus Caesar in armis*, II. vii. 5). It occurs in vv. 6, 12, 20, 21. We are limited further by the quatrain 21-24, after which the subject of Hesiod enters to balance Homer in vv. 1-6. Another quatrain must balance this in the first part of the poem.

The scheme then works itself out thus :

6	-	to the first <i>magnus</i> : subject Homer (<i>Haemonio equo</i>
(= 10) +		implies Achilles; <i>mei ducis</i> is the second Achilles).
4	= 7-10:	farewell to works of love.
2	= 11, 12,	invocation to his powers, for an epic yet unwritten.
(= 10) + 6 = 13-18:		the address and central subject, Augustus and his triumphs.
2	= 19-20:	the promise and the prayer. This single couplet balancing the former (11, 12), enhances the effect of the central passage; each has <i>magnus</i> in the pentameter to give it weight and distinction.
4	= 21-24,	the abasement (at the fall of the poem's curve).
(= 10) +		
6 = 25, 26,	IV. i. 67-70.	Hesiod is more within his powers; the six verses balance the first six on Homeric themes. <i>Meus equus</i> (70), Heliconian Pegasus, can scarcely soar with toil to the lowlier themes of the last book, with its archaeology and aetiology. Achilles' horses (2) are too swift as yet.

10, 10, 10, subdivided into 6:4, 2:6:2, 4:6, is a well-balanced scheme, in which Augustus occupies the central verse (15), and Rome, the chief subject of Book IV., the last stanza of its prologue.

I ask readers who have patiently followed the threads of this essay to forgive the absence of illustrative pages of my text, and to communicate to me such adverse criticisms as may occur to them. Little by little wise counsellors may help me nearer to the truth; and perhaps I may say, with less guile than Tarpeia,

cras, ut rumor ait, tota purgabitur urbe.

O. L. RICHMOND.

[The Editors regret that they are unable to arrange, at any rate in the present issue, for the appearance of the illustrative pages desired by the writer.]

EURYNOME AND EURYCLEIA IN THE *ODYSSEY*.

BERGK in his *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, Vol. I., pp. 708, 709, 710, 715, and elsewhere, rejected all verses in the *Odyssey* where reference is made to Eurynome, a servant or attendant in the palace of Odysseus. His comments on p. 715 concerning the first verses of the twentieth book are typical: 'Right at the beginning of this book the appearance of Eurynome shows the activity of the imitator. This very passage proves beyond a doubt that Eurynome had no part in the original poem, and that a later bard arbitrarily used her name instead of the name of Eurycleia, who was the true female attendant in the old form of the *Odyssey*.'

This opinion has been accepted by practically all those who do not regard the poem as the work of a single author. Hennings, in those parts of his *Odyssee* where he comments on the various verses referring to Eurynome, has uniformly regarded them as later additions. Professor Ludwig Adam in a book, *Der Aufbau der Odyssee durch Homer*, Wiesbaden, 1911, sums up the arguments and collects the literature, and he is so convinced that Eurynome had no part in the original form of the *Odyssey* that he devotes an entire chapter to that subject, using the assumption of the spuriousness of this character as one of the main props for his theory in regard to the composition of the poem.

The argument of Bergk and his followers is that Eurycleia alone is needed, that she is all-sufficient as the head of the servants and as guide in the household, while Eurynome is simply a poor and transparent copy of the faithful and trusted Eurycleia, and that she was added by a late and incompetent bard.

A careful study of the *Odyssey* will show whether Eurycleia was indeed all-sufficient, and also whether just such a character as Eurynome was necessary in the palace of Odysseus, and therefore necessary in the *Odyssey*.

Eurycleia was a woman of great age, for she was a trusted member of the family of Laertes before the birth of Odysseus, since it was she who put the newborn babe on the knees of its grandfather and suggested that the child be named Polyaretus, Πολυάρητος, τ 404; but the hint was not taken by Autolycus, who had already decided to name the boy Odysseus.

The evident confidence reposed in her on that occasion would show that even then she was a mature and experienced woman, and that occasion could hardly have been less than fifty years before the events with which she is connected in the story of the return of Odysseus.

When a son is born to Odysseus he is trusted to the same nurse who cared for his own infancy. Eurycleia is peculiarly the nurse and attendant of Telemachus in the story of the *Odyssey*. Penelope, as Homer tells us χ 427, had not allowed the young man to give orders to the servants, and he never gives them; but Telemachus felt free to command his old nurse, which he does constantly, but he never gives commands to a single other woman servant in the house of his father.

Eurycleia α 428 carried for him the torches which lighted his chamber, and she also prepared his bed for him. She simply continued for the grown-up lad the tasks she had assumed in his infancy, and their relations have scarcely changed. She prepared for him β 345 the wine and provisions which were to be used on his seemingly distant voyage. We can hardly believe that Eurycleia could have made these preparations without long absence from the presence of Penelope, and yet there is nothing to show that this absence was noticed by the queen or her suspicions aroused, neither does Eurycleia show any anxiety lest the queen should miss her.

When the distracted mother definitely learns from another that her son had gone from Ithaca, Eurycleia tells her that she had assisted his going, but had been bound to keep it as a secret, thus proving that the bonds between Penelope and Eurycleia were less strong and less intimate than those between Eurycleia and Telemachus. The very fact that Eurycleia kept from Penelope this important secret shows that they were not especially intimate.

Eurycleia does not reappear until ρ 31, when she was much the first to catch sight of the returning Telemachus, while Penelope does not see her son until after he has been greeted by his nurse. Here, too, we see that Eurycleia was not a close companion of the queen, and that they were in different parts of the palace. Every reference to Eurycleia shows that she was in no sense a constant or necessary companion of Penelope.

Telemachus τ 16 orders Eurycleia to restrain the women within the halls while he stores away the weapons of his father, and here also the absence of the old nurse seems to have been unnoticed by Penelope. Telemachus impatiently takes Eurycleia to task for the assumed neglect of the beggar, Odysseus, ν 130, he orders her to bolt fast the doors ϕ 380, and to come into the presence of the victorious Odysseus χ 395, while Odysseus himself orders her to bring the women before him and to prepare a purifying fire in the hall χ 410, 491.

Eurycleia is plainly the especial servant of Telemachus and of Odysseus, since she is the only woman servant to whom the son gives orders, while even the commands of the father while he is in the palace are restricted to her. Only twice in the entire poem does Penelope give orders to Eurycleia, once when on the suggestion of Odysseus she is bidden to wash the beggar's feet, and again where Penelope tells her to prepare her husband's bed τ 357, ψ 177. In neither case does she tell her to do anything for her, so that although she gives the commands they are really for the sake of Odysseus.

When the suitors are slain and the guilty servants punished Odysseus tells

Eurycleia to go and call Penelope. It is to be noticed that she tells the other faithful women first who rushed from their rooms to greet their returning lord before the nurse came into the presence of Penelope χ 496.

The number of women servants in the palace of Odysseus was very great : twenty went to the spring for water ν 148, while many remained at work in the house, and Eurycleia herself says there are fifty women servants whom we have taught to serve χ 421. Evidently Eurycleia is not included in this number.

Even if Homer had named no other female attendant than Eurycleia we must assume that the queen had some servant, some companion of her own, some person so close to her that she would not have kept from her for several days so vital a matter as the departure of her only son; and we are certain that Penelope would not have contented herself with an old woman, however deserving, who had been a member of this same household a full generation before she herself came as a youthful bride. Penelope's twenty years would have been miserable indeed if she had had no closer companion than Eurycleia !

We know that her father sent along with her the male servant, Dolius, δ 735, and we feel certain that women attendants were indispensable, not servants merely, but a woman capable of being both her friend and companion, a woman standing in somewhat the same relations with her that Eurycleia stood with both Odysseus and Telemachus.

She had just such a companion in Actoris ψ 228, whom her father had sent with her when she first came to Ithaca, and who alone of the household had shared with Penelope and Odysseus the knowledge of the secret which concerned their marriage bed. The name Actoris is found in no other verse of the *Odyssey*,¹ so that we must assume either that Actoris is a patronymic and that she appears elsewhere under her own name, or that Actoris herself is dead² and her place has been taken by another. It is impossible to decide in this matter, but I am inclined to believe that Actoris is a patronymic and that her own name is Eurynome.

The thesis which I wish to establish is this : Homer could not have made Penelope rely solely or chiefly on the companionship of a woman who had been the nurse of her husband in his infancy, but must have created for her a companion of her own, a companion whose connection with the household did not depend on the choice of Laertes or of Laertes' son, and that such a companion was Eurynome, whether Eurynome was the name of Actoris or of a successor.

Just as Telemachus confined his commands to Eurycleia alone of the woman servants or attendants, so Penelope, when giving orders for herself or on her own initiative, gives orders to none but Eurynome. Eurycleia, as already shown, did not keep close to Penelope, since she put the young man to bed in a part of the palace remote from his mother; she spent a long time in preparing things for his voyage without the knowledge or suspicions of the queen, and was in another part of the palace when he returned, so that she greeted him before his mother knew that he had come.

Penelope was seated in her own chamber when she hears of the insults heaped

¹ So Ebeling in *Lexicon Homericum*.

² Suggested by Cauer in note to ψ 228.

upon the beggar, Odysseus, and she prays that Apollo may at once destroy Antinous, who is the chief offender. Eurynome immediately replies, 'If answers could come to all your prayers, no one of them would live until the coming dawn.' Penelope answers, 'Nurse, they all are hateful to me since their hearts are set on evil' (ρ 494 sqq.) This first appearance of Eurynome shows a characteristic and peculiar intimacy with the queen. When later Penelope conceives the coquettish notion of appearing before the suitors to arouse their affections and their admiration it is to her intimate companion, Eurynome, that she reveals her intentions ο 164; and Eurynome replies with suggestions that could come only from the closest companionship, advising her to paint her cheeks and to adorn herself with alluring devices. Eurynome then summoned the two attendants Autonoe and Hippodameia, who seem to have regularly accompanied the queen when she appeared in the great hall. These women were evidently youthful, since Eurynome is here referred to as γρηῡς, while when she is with Eurycleia ψ 292 it is the latter who is given that epithet. There is no confusion here, since 'old' is purely a relative term; I do not seem old to my mother, yet I do to my son. Eurynome was doubtless old when compared with the handmaidens of Penelope, but young when compared with Eurycleia.

Penelope ordered Eurynome τ 98 to bring a chair with covering for the beggar, Odysseus. When the queen retires with her maidens for the night τ 599 she bids Odysseus to remain in the palace, telling him that he might sleep on the floor or the servants will prepare him a bed. Odysseus spreads on the floor the hide of an ox and draws over himself the skins of sheep, while Eurynome throws him a coverlet υ 4.

When Penelope comes into the presence of her husband, after his great victory over the suitors, and cannot bring herself to believe that it is indeed he, Telemachus is highly indignant, but Odysseus suggests that perhaps his squalid and unkempt condition may be responsible for her failure to recognize him; thereupon Eurynome has him bathed and anointed, and finally when Penelope knows that her husband has returned, then *her* servant Eurynome and *his* servant Eurycleia prepare anew their marriage bed ψ 290.

His nurse, Eurycleia, retires, and Eurynome, the especial friend and guardian of the wife, conducts them once more to their former bridal chamber, just as in Becker's *Charikles* it was the mother of the bride who guided the youthful couple to their marriage bower, 'da geleitete Kleobule's Mutter das Paar in den stillen Thalamos.' This is quoted from the last sentence in the story of Becker's *Charikles*. Evidently in a somewhat remote way the rites of the former marriage are carried out in this scene in the *Odyssey*.

Conclusion.—Eurynome is never given a command except by Penelope, while Telemachus gives commands to Eurycleia alone of the woman servants. There is no confusion in the mind of the poet; Eurynome and Eurycleia are distinct and necessary actors in the poem. Eurycleia belonged to the household of Laertes a full generation before the arrival of Penelope. Eurynome, on the other hand, is connected with the *Odyssey* solely from the side of Penelope; she

was her necessary and intimate companion, and evidently accompanied the youthful queen when she came as a bride to Ithaca. It is beyond belief that in a palace with fifty or more women attendants the queen should have had no servant peculiarly her own, and that she was forced to rely on an old woman who had belonged to the palace of Laertes years before she herself was born. We are certain that a father who sent along with his daughter a manservant, Dolius, sent also the more necessary companion, a companion of her own sex.

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NOTES ON EURIPIDES, *RHESVS* 252, 340.

IN 252 Mr. Porter excludes a reference to the proverb, but, if so, the introduction of *Μυσῶν* is pointless. 'Where is the ally who . . .?' we can understand, but why should the Mysians be singled out? I am afraid that this path leads nowhere. On the assumption that a reference to *Μυσῶν ἔσχατος* is intended, the object of my note was to maintain that *πρὸς Μυσῶν* (*ἔστί*) means, 'he comes from Mysia who . . .,' or, in other words, 'he is a *rara avis* who . . .'. No doubt it is a blot that a proverb should be quoted which in its literal application is out of touch with the dramatic situation. But lapses of this kind are so common in tragedy (Jebb on *At.* 1112), that the objection is less serious than it appears at first sight. Proverbs are employed without a thought of their origin; and, if the poet forgot that he was straying into his own century, it is no great wonder. The scholiast notes the anachronism, which resembles the description in the *Hecuba* (450) of the Peloponnese as *Δωρὶς αἰῶ*. Now, this scholium is no Byzantine paraphrase, but a relic of the best Alexandrian tradition. It is our only external aid towards the elucidation of a perplexity, and it is hazardous to reject its evidence for other than the most cogent reasons.

In regard to *οὐνεκα*, I regret that I failed to make myself clear. Those who agree with Mr. Porter seem to hold that *οὐνεκα*, like *κατά*, can mean 'according to' [*secundum nuntii verba*, Vater] as well as 'so far as concerns.' If that is so, of course *οὐνεκα* makes passable sense, but no parallel has yet been produced to justify the assumption. That is the first point which is at issue. I went on to argue that, if *οὐνεκα* is not the equivalent of *κατά*, the words *ἔ' Πῆσος χρυσοτευχὴς ἔστιν οὐνεκ' ἀγγέλου λόγων* are meaningless in this context, but that with the substitution of *ἀμάχητος* for *χρυσοτευχὴς* they would be intelligible. To force *χρυσοτευχὴς ὦν* into a larger connotation—that is to say, to make it an expression of blame—seems to me unnatural. Mr. Porter, who thinks that 'Hector is pleased to be sarcastic,' apparently accepts *χρυσοτευχὴς ὦν* as derogatory in intention. No one can prove that he is wrong; but that I am not alone in suspecting a corruption is shown by the list of conjectures in Wecklein.

A. C. PEARSON.

THE TRAGEDY OF ELECTRA, ACCORDING TO SOPHOCLES.

THERE is a note of uneasiness in many modern appreciations of Sophocles, and particularly of his *Electra*. A symptom is the familiar apology that, after all, he was the perfect artist. Jebb himself betrays a certain moral discomfort in the midst of his enthusiasm for the brightness of the morning sun that greets the righteous avenger. Professor Murray has the courage to state as a challenge the criticism which less candid writers hint by inuendo. By the very frankness of his indictment he helps us to face, instead of shirking, the issue. Unlike Euripides and Aeschylus, he says, Sophocles takes the story exactly as he finds it :

He knows that those ancient chiefs did not trouble about their consciences : they killed in the fine old ruthless way.

And again :

The 'stern and artificial' period is best represented by the *Electra*. The *Electra* is 'artificial' in a good sense, through its skill of plot, its clear characterization, its uniform good writing. It is also artificial in a bad sense. For instance, in the messenger's speech, where all that is wanted is a false report of Orestes's death, the poet chooses to insert a brilliant, lengthy, and quite undramatic description of the Pythian games. It is also 'stern.' Aeschylus in the *Choephoroi* had felt vividly the horror of his plot. . . . In the *Electra* this element, the horror of matricide, is practically ignored. Electra has no qualms ; Orestes shows no signs of madness ; the climax is formed, not by the culminating horror, the matricide, but by the hardest bit of work, the slaying of Aegisthus ! Aeschylus had kept Electra and Clytaemnestra apart : here we see them freely in the hard unloveliness of their daily wrangles. Above all, in place of the cry of bewilderment that closes the *Choephoroi* . . . the *Electra* closes with an expression of entire satisfaction. It is this spirit that makes the *Electra*, brilliant as it is, so typically uncharming.

This indictment is not to be met by the plea that Sophocles was a perfect artist in words. The 'uniform good writing' is admitted. It may be remarked in passing that Mr. Murray's epithets 'stern and artificial' are a translation of the words *πικρὸν καὶ κατὰ τεχνον*, used, according to Plutarch's well-known story, by Sophocles himself of the second period of his development. It may be doubted whether in point of style the *Electra* does not rather belong to the third stage, when Sophocles has discovered 'that form of expression which

contains the highest degree of *ethos* and is best.' However that may be, it seems a pity to transfer the terms of a purely stylistic classification to the much more general problem of the types of drama. Whoever used the words *πικρὸν καὶ κατὰ τεχνον*¹ of the Sophoclean composition in a half-developed period of which we may or may not have specimens, was certainly not thinking of 'entire satisfaction' about matricide as evidence of *πικρότης*, or of 'quite undramatic' messengers' speeches as characteristic of the 'artificial' or 'technical' way of writing.

This criticism, however, does not affect the main issue. Is it true that Sophocles has 'practically ignored' the horror of matricide? If so, we must admit that he has been guilty of a sin against the tragic art. He has cloaked with a thin veil of beauty a story whose essence is an appalling tragedy. He has sacrificed the tragedy for the sake of a *tour de force*. I believe that this is untrue. But Professor Murray does good service in forcing us to face the possibility.

The key to the riddle will, I believe, be found in the deliberate care with which the poet has distinguished between Electra, the heroine and the tragic sufferer, and Orestes, whose prime business is to act. For the audience I believe it is at most a half truth that Electra 'has no qualms.' The opening scenes of the play give us the right perspective for the later development.

The romantic suggestion of the breaking of a happy dawn after a night of sorrow (17-19) has been sufficiently admired. It has not perhaps been sufficiently emphasized that these lines are a skilful adaptation of the theme recurrent in the *Choephoroi*, light out of darkness, sorrow leading to joy.²

But there is also more dramatic value in this description of the sunshine that wakes the dawn-song of the birds than is commonly supposed. It occurs in a paragraph which is carefully constructed, beginning and ending as it does with an exhortation to immediate action. Now dawn, in Greek poetry, proverbially awakes the birds to song and men to work.³ The picturesque

¹ *πικρὸν* for *αὐστηρόν* is evidence for the antiquity of this piece of criticism (v. Jebb, *Trach.* Int. p. xlv.). The meaning is: 'After I had played out the bombast of Aeschylus, and then the pungency and artificiality of my own style of composition, I discovered the form of expression which contains the highest degree of *Ethos* and is the best.' That is no commonplace of the critical tradition. The ancient *Life of Sophocles* makes the obvious remark that he learnt tragedy in the school of Aeschylus, and gives the normal view of antiquity when it says that 'he is called ἡδός.' It is his sweetness that earns him the name of the Attic bee. He has ἡδονὴν θαυμαστὴν καὶ μεγαλοπρέπειαν. Just as in life he was εὐκόλος, so in his style. Dio Chrysostom says that he had neither the αὐθαδὲς καὶ ἀπλοὺν of Aeschylus, nor the ἀκριβὲς καὶ δριμύ καὶ πολιτικόν of Euripides, words which sufficiently indicate the relation between the normal stylistic criticism and the *Frogs* of Aristophanes. Dionysius Halicarnensis

and others admit that he sometimes falls into ἀνωμαλία, but no one, when once the traditional criticisms were fixed, was likely to suggest that the blessed Sophocles had at any stage been *πικρός* or *αὐστηρός*. Pindar, Aeschylus, Thucydides, are 'austere.' Euripides and Isocrates are 'smooth.' But Sophocles, like Homer, has the perfect style, 'harmoniously blended,' *εὐκρατον*. Dion. Hal. *de verb. comp.* XXI.-XXIV.

² Cf. Walter Headlam's note in *C.R.* vol. XVII. 1903, p. 248. It should also be remarked that there are, in accordance with the normal stylistic method of Sophocles, verbal reminiscences of Homer *Il.* VIII. 485, and that line 19 significantly recalls Aesch. *Ag.* 276.

³ See Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 577 sqq. and 568 sqq.; Ibycus. *fr.* 7; Eur. *Phaethon fr.* 773, 23 sqq., recalling Hom. *Od.* XIX. 522, *Rhesus* 546 sqq., Callim. *Hecale fr.* in *C.R.* vol. VII p. 429, Xenophon *Oec.* V. 4.

description of the morning, therefore, is not merely suggestive of a cheerful and a hopeful atmosphere, but also of the strenuous call to action—*οὐκέτ' ὀκνεῖν καιρὸς, ἀλλ' ἔργων ἀκμή*.

The notion that the long expected moment of heroic action has arrived inspires the whole speech of the Paidagogos. Very skilfully it touches just those motives which explain the spirit in which Orestes, the typical liberator, welcomes his task. He is the son of a great general, and he comes to fight for his father (1). To this end he has been trained by the old henchman (13-14), who has taken pains to fill his mind with thoughts of the greatness of his father and of the country whose throne he is now to claim from the usurpers. The reference to the mythical suffering of ancient Io has dramatic value. The daughter of the ancient king of Argos is a type whose parallel is found in the hero's sister (5, 12). Again, the reference to Apollo, slayer of the wolf, has value for Orestes, sent by Apollo himself to kill the wolf-adulterer, Aigisthos (cf. *Ag.* 1257). And is not Hera's famous temple significant for the punishment of those who have violated the most sacred ties of marriage? Mycenae is a city of much gold, and the house of the Pelopids a house of much slaughter (9-10). Orestes comes to claim his stolen fortune, and to avenge his father's murder. Here, it is true enough, the poet has deliberately avoided the suggestion of the horror of the matricide. He wants to make us feel the simplicity of the motives with which, in his exile, without knowledge of his mother, trained by his murdered father's servant, Orestes has grown to the age of fulfilment. That is the main purpose of the speech, and the whole is bound together by the repeated and rhythmical insistence on the fact that the time of action has at length arrived (*νῦν*, 2 . . . *τοσόνδ' ἐς ἡβης*, 14 . . . *νῦν οὖν*, 15 . . . *ἔργων ἀκμή*, 22). Look at lines 65-76, and notice how the themes of the Paidagogos are reiterated, and raised to a higher power.

So much for Orestes. Now turn to Electra. Her first words are a cry to 'the pure light of day'; but, for her, day is a witness and summons to fresh sorrow, not hope. Line 91 recalls line 19, with a poignant contrast. Next notice that for Electra's sorrow, as for the eager courage of Orestes, the motive is the thought of Agamemnon. But for her he is *τὸν δύστηνον ἐμὸν πατέρα* (94). For Orestes it is Electra who is *δύστηνος* (80): the repetition is not accidental. And for Electra, who knows the tragic history by personal experience, not, like Orestes, as a story of a distant event, the most tragic element is this: it was 'my own mother' (97) who, with her paramour, so brutally killed 'my own father' (94). That touch makes all the difference.

But we have not yet seen the full development of the poet's art. The dawn that calls Orestes to action rouses Electra to fresh grief. Proverbially the dawn awoke, not simply birds in general, but particularly the nightingale, the bird of lamentation. Therefore when, at line 107, Electra compares herself to the nightingale, we are listening not merely to a familiar piece of tragic similitude, but to a lyrical amplification of lines 17-19, turning the picturesque to tragedy. The reference is made and at once forgotten. But at

line 147 it is repeated, and this time with a new and important detail. The bird of sorrow is now also 'the messenger of Zeus,' and Zeus, we know, sends winter and spring, sorrow and joy (cf. Hes. *Op.* 568). Upon Zeus, the chorus tells her, she must throw her trust (175). To Zeus she herself cries for vengeance (209) in an appeal more lofty than her earlier cry for the aid of the nether powers (110 sqq.). Nor is it an accident that we hear again of the birds ('the wings of my shrill lamentation') in her final challenge to the universe for justice (242-250), when she declares that all human modesty and piety are at an end if the dead are to lie dead and the guilty to escape unpunished.

It is only by remembering that Sophocles had an audience to whom these light touches of reminiscence were eloquent that we can hope to judge his purpose aright. Let us see whether this lyrical prelude does not give us cause to reconsider the suggestion that Sophocles has burked the moral issue. We begin with a monody in which we realize how urgent is her imagination in renewing the memory of her father's death, and how, in her loneliness, she feels that her only means of saving her own decency is the constant renewal of her grief, the passionate invocation of vengeance on the sinners. The same quality which makes her speak of 'my own father' and of 'my own mother' makes her also pray for the return of 'my own brother' (117). Then comes the sympathetic chorus, and we notice in passing that the epithet *δύστηνος*, applied by Orestes to Electra, by Electra to Agamemnon, is now applied by the chorus, with a different effect, to Clytaemnestra (121). The chorus gently reproach Electra for yielding to excessive passionate grief, though they admit that there is cause to pray for the downfall of the guilty (123 sqq.). Electra answers that she knows and understands their sympathetic purpose, yet will not leave lamenting. The chorus urge the ancient doctrine that grief will not undo the evil of death, and that moderation has its place in sorrow as in all else. Electra's reply is that duty to her father makes it right for her to lament. The chorus then produce a second ancient consolation. 'You are not the only sufferer, they say. Chrysothemis, Iphianassa, and Orestes. . . .' The name fires Electra. Her answer begins with a flash of indignation, but ends in despair. This brings from the chorus their strongest argument for moderation. Zeus is the overseer and master of events. To Him should be left the accomplishment, to Him and to Orestes and to the god who rules by Acheron. When Electra answers by describing for the first time her own personal suffering, it is the turn of the chorus to kindle into indignation. They lament the tragic home-coming and death of Agamemnon, and Electra, stirred again by the memory, passes from lamentation to a violent imprecation on the murderers.

We have in fact come full compass and stand once more where we stood at the outset. Electra is pouring out her indignation and her sorrow. The chorus preach again the doctrine of restraint (213 sqq.). Electra's answer is important for our enquiry:

δεινοῖς ἡναγκάσθην, δεινοῖς ·
 ἔξοιδ', οὐ λάθει μ' ὀργά.
 ἀλλ' ἐν γὰρ δεινοῖς οὐ σήσω
 ταύτας ἄτας,
 ὄφρα με βίος ἔχῃ.

The chorus urge *μετρίότης*. Electra's answer (245-250) is that, in this tragic situation, *αἰδώς* and *εὐσέβεια* are lost if Vengeance, which in her own way she keeps alive by grieving, is forgotten. The important point to notice is that Electra 'knows' all about the doctrine of moderation. She knows, but for her there is a necessity (*ἀνάγκη*) that overrules the natural propriety which bids men in most griefs to refrain from 'adding sorrow to sorrow.' That it is the poet's first object to drive home this point, not merely to enlist our sympathy by a pathetic piece of singing, is proved by the fact that the iambic dialogue repeats the theme. Electra feels the excessive passion of her behaviour (254), but there is a constraint upon her greater than the constraint of ordinary proprieties (257). As she develops her defence, it is no accident that the head and forefront of her sorrow is this (262):

τὰ μητρὸς ἧ μ' ἐγείνατο
 ἔχθιστα συμβέβηκε.

Electra, who so passionately loves her father, is not 'without qualms' at the sense of her tragic estrangement from her mother. The speech passes through hatred of Aegisthos, as usurper (267), murderer, and adulterer (273), to bitterness against her mother. The end is exactly parallel to the end of the lyrical dialogue:

ἐν οὖν τοιούτοις οὔτε σωφρονεῖν, φίλοι,
 οὔτ' εὐσεβεῖν πάρεστιν. ἀλλ' ἐν τοι κακοῖς
 πολλῇ 'στ' ἀνάγκη κάπιτηδεύειν κακά.

We have already noticed that Sophocles recalls the themes already used by Aeschylus. In the *Choephoroi*¹ Electra prays for the return of Orestes, and adds:

αὐτῇ τ' ἐμοὶ δὸς σωφρονεστέραν πολλὴν
 μητρὸς γενέσθαι, χεῖρά τ' εὐσεβεστέραν.

Sophocles replies that, in the circumstances, it is impossible. This is the poet's way of stating the moral issue. It is stated in the language of ancient Greek, not of modern, morality. As Simonides said:

ἄνδρα δ' οὐκ ἔστι μὴ οὐ κακὸν ἔμμεναι,
 ὃν ἀμάχανος συμφορὰ καθέλη.
 . . . ἀνάγκη δ' οὐδὲ θεοὶ μάχονται.

That is the fundamental doctrine of the tragedies of Sophocles. It is the method of Sophocles to state the moral issue at the outset (cf. the early scenes of the *Cedipus Tyrannus*, where the Teiresias scene stresses the limitation

¹ Line 141.

of human knowledge, the Creon scene the danger of despotic power). The issue thus stated, Chrysothemis appears, a living example of the 'moderation' which Electra rightly, though so tragically, rejects. Should not the pains with which the poet shows that Electra is sensible of her separation from the normal conduct of instinctive womanly modesty make us careful before we pronounce judgment when her real tragedy comes to be enacted?

Electra, not less than the modern interpreter, realized 'the hard unloveliness of the daily wrangles' with Clytaemnestra. The poet shows us one of these wrangles, not because he is indifferent to its unloveliness, but to prepare us, who perceive how Electra suffers from it, for the tragedy that is coming. The moral preparation for the tragedy of Electra is consummated when, at line 616, after the stern indictment of her unnatural mother, she recalls for the last time her sense of the gulf which separates her from the modesty which she would, in other and happier circumstances, have valued more than many correct people:

εὖ νυν ἐπίστω τῶνδε μ' αἰσχύνην ἔχειν
 κεῖ μὴ δοκῶ σοι. μανθάνω δ' ὀθούνεκα
 ἔξωρα πράσσω κοῦκ ἐμοὶ προσεικότα.
 ἀλλ', ἡ γὰρ ἐκ σοῦ δυσμένεια καὶ τὰ σὰ
 ἔργ' ἐξαναγκάζει με ταῦτα δρᾶν βίᾳ.

That is the climax of the moral prelude. We were justified in supposing that the earlier scenes had a moral as well as a poetical value. These words, in which Electra states her tragic relation to her mother, stand out with the more effect because we have been prepared for their significance. Line 100 (οἶδα τε . . .¹) leads up to line 221 (δεινοῖς ἡναγκάσθην . . . ἔξοιδ' . . .), and this to 244 sqq. (εἰ . . . μὴ παλιν δώσουσ' ἀντιφόνους δίκας, ἔρροι τ' ἂν αἰδῶς, ἀπάντων τ' εὐσέβεια θνατῶν). Then, in 254, we have αἰσχύνομαι . . . βία ταῦτ' ἀναγκάζει με δρᾶν, and, in 307, the responsive ἐν οὖν τοιούτοις οὔτε σωφρονεῖν . . . οὔτ' εὐσεβεῖν πάρεστιν. ἀλλ' ἐν τοι κακοῖς πολλή 'στ' ἀνάγκη καπιτηδεύειν κακά. The contrast with Chrysothemis develops this theme, and before the scene is ended Chrysothemis has been won over from her 'good sense' to at any rate a partial appreciation of the true εὐσέβεια and true σωφροσύνη (464-5) of Electra. Then, after the dialogue with her mother, Electra sums up the tragic situation in the lines quoted above, in which the words αἰσχύνην . . . μανθάνω . . . ἐξαναγκάζει are rich in reminiscence.

The audience of Sophocles does not need to be told that it is a terrible thing for a child to kill a mother. The care with which Sophocles has shown us the daughter's sense of the shame of her unhappy relation with her parent ought to make us sceptical when we are told that Electra simply 'has no qualms.'

Yes; but it is true that this same Electra, when the murder is actually happening, eggs on the avenger and shows no trace of tragic ruth. Exactly;

¹ The scholiast is right.

that is the tragedy. The first scenes show us that Electra is not an unnatural monster: yet she behaves at the crisis without qualms. The second part of the drama shows us how this comes to pass.

The Paidagogos has been severely handled for his lack of dramatic hustling. He ought, the critics say, to have contented himself with a brief report that Orestes was dead. Instead of this he delivers a 'quite undramatic' *rhesis* of considerable length and irrelevant detail. I think this is unfair to the old man, who seems to me to have taken no little trouble in concocting his story, and no little mischievous pleasure in telling it. So I should be inclined to expect, in view of the delightful irony with which, at his first appearance, he asks for the 'tyrannus' Aegisthus, and decides that Clytaemnestra is probably his wife because she looks like a 'tyrannus.' The compliment is double-edged.¹

However, he wastes no time before telling his great and important secret (673). Orestes is dead, and Electra is in despair, while Clytaemnestra clamours her delight and curiosity. Is it not natural that the old man should give her what she asks? There is malice in his promise 'I will tell it all' (680). The tale he tells makes Orestes, to each of the chief listeners, something more than he has ever been before. To Electra he is no longer simply the child she saved, and the vague deliverer for whose coming she has hoped against despair. He is a splendid heir of a royal father, worth all the longing and the love, deserving none of the reproaches which his delay had suggested, a hero, hailed by all Greece as a hero, and then, in the moment when he adds glory to Agamemnon and to Argos, suddenly dead. You will call this *rhesis* 'undramatic' only if you forget that Electra is listening to every word. And so is Clytaemnestra. When she heard the bare news that her son was dead she was glad, without a touch of sorrow. It is surely not an undramatic speech which makes her for a moment become a mother instead of a fiend. It is only for a moment, but it is enough to justify the old man's story.

When she recovers, it is to vent her hatred on Electra. But Electra's first thought is that Orestes, like Agamemnon, is insulted in death by Clytaemnestra. Electra has for years maintained the cause of Agamemnon against the insults of her mother, looking always to Orestes as the final helper. Had it not been for her faith in Orestes, she thinks she would have died (323). But now Orestes is dead, and she witnesses for him (792), as she has so long witnessed for Agamemnon. But she still has no thought that she herself may be the avenger. For her, she thinks, everything is over (796). Death is the only helper now (820 sqq.). She is stirred to action by the bitterness of soul with which she hears the raptures of Chrysothemis. But her first thought is to kill Aegisthus, not Clytaemnestra. Does the audience feel that this is simply because 'the general scheme of the play required that Aegisthus should be placed in the foreground as chief criminal'? After the dramatic prelude I cannot believe it. Simply, at this stage of her

¹ See my remarks in *Class. Quart.* January, 1917.

development the thought of killing Clytaemnestra does not come to Electra. We are not yet ready for the tragedy, and the tragedy is not yet fully developed. Meanwhile Chrysothemis draws away once more. Electra is isolated, steeled to killed Aegisthus, and to suffer for it. The verdict of the chorus is surely, at this point, our own. Notice how they recall our old *motifs*, the nightingale (1076), *αἰσχῦναι* (1083), *τῇ Ζηνὸς εὐσεβείᾳ* (1096). But the chorus, who are not daughters of Clytaemnestra, include her in the vengeance (1081).

When Orestes enters he asks at once for Aegisthus. For him, it is true, the killing of Clytaemnestra will be, as Jebb says, a *parergon*. But the lament of Electra culminates in the thought of death which, as we noticed, possessed her when she saw how Clytaemnestra received the news of her brother's fate. Lines 1153 sqq. are of great psychological importance. For Electra the final and supreme outrage is Clytaemnestra's 'frenzy of pleasure' at the death of him who had been for Electra the avenger. But now we notice, when it is not Electra's own action that is contemplated, the vengeance is upon the mother herself. But Electra does not now speak of her own resolve to kill Aegisthus. Her thought again is of the freedom of the dead from pain (1170). For the psychology of Orestes it is important to notice that the first really direct and vivid knowledge he receives of his mother comes at line 1193. He had imagined that his sister was unhappy. He had heard of her ill-treatment. But when he sees her he is shocked beyond his imagining. And he asks, in a phrase deliberately chosen by the poet, who has already played so much upon the theme of 'Ἀνάγκη,

τίς γάρ σ' ἀνάγκη τῇδε προτρέπει βροτῶν ;

The answer is *μήτηρ καλεῖται* . . .

In Electra, from the moment of recognition, there is a wonderful change. The measure of her sternness in the earlier scenes, both to Chrysothemis and to Clytaemnestra, was the measure of her love for Agamemnon. Her love for Orestes finds expression in a complete loss of self-control. In a passionate lyrical scene she pours out her happiness. She forgets all caution. Orestes, bent on his task and conscious of the risks, is only half aware of her emotion. It is his turn to say *ἔξοιδα . . . ἄλλ' . . .* (1251). When she regains her self-control, it is no longer the same Electra who speaks. It is the devoted slave of Orestes who is now her leader: *ὦδ' ὅπως καὶ σοὶ φίλον καὶ τοῦμόν ἔσται τῇδ' (1301) . . . ἄρχ' αὐτὸς ὥς σοι θυμός (1319)*. The intervention of the Paidagogos, still harping on the theme of the prologue, *νῦν καιρὸς ἔρδειν (1368)*, and the insistence of Orestes on action, not words (1371), combine to throw into relief the dramatic change in Electra, her passionate love, and her abandonment to Orestes. It is under the influence of that passion, and in the spirit caught from Orestes, that she makes her prayer to Apollo Lykeios.

The tragic value of the scene that follows depends on our realization of

all this. We cannot judge the effect of *παῖσον, εἰ σθένεις, διπλῆν* unless we have appreciated the full force of line 1411, *ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ σέθεν ῥκτείρεθ' οὗτος*.

Electra is ruthless here. But it is tragic that she is so. Sophocles knows that his audience thrills to the tragic situation. He has no need to dwell on the fact that matricide is terrible. The audience knows it. The audience does not simply take the view of the chorus . . . *οὐδ' ἔχω ψέγειν*. Precisely because the horror of matricide is so appalling, it is tragic that Electra, thinking only of her brother and her father, does not at this supreme moment feel it. And Orestes, fresh from the killing, thinks first of Electra (1426), as Electra thinks of him.

The tragedy, I submit, is accomplished. The very coolness, the calculated cruelty with which Aegisthus is received and trapped, makes his death 'a *parergon*.' But Electra, when it comes to the killing, calls for haste. She wants to get the whole episode dismissed as if it were an episode. She wants Aegisthus to be despatched and put out of sight. She wants to forget, not Aegisthus, but all the past.

We know she cannot. After line 1490 she does not speak. But while Orestes makes his final moral, and while the chorus raise their song of triumph, Electra still stands before us a tragic, not, I venture to think, a cheerful spectator.

I venture to suggest that if, at the conclusion, the chorus had uttered a bewildered cry instead of a clear shout of triumph, our own realization of the tragedy would be less poignant. Electra has no qualms at the supreme moment of her tragedy? Well, she is a loving and a lovable person; her instincts are womanly. Is it not tragic that such a woman should be found crying *παῖσον, εἰ σθένεις, διπλῆν*? And, after all, does not *εἰ σθένεις* imply something more than is to be expressed by loud and complicated lyrical lamentations about her feelings at that dreadful moment?

J. T. SHEPPARD.

PHAEDRIANA.

I. CORRECTIONS OF THE TEXT.

THE fabulist Phaedrus, or Phaeder if that was his real name, was unhappy in his life, and ill-fortune pursued him after death. In addition to accidental corruption and the interpolation which this provoked, his five books of verse have suffered from disruption and partial conversion into prose. Restoration of the original, so far as that original is capable of being restored, is neither simple nor easy. The sources of the text are diverse and different. None of them can be trusted, but none on the other hand may be neglected. A short account of them is requisite in order to make what follows immediately intelligible.

The oldest and most important MS. for the bulk of the extant poems is the *Pithoeanus* (P), the property of the Marquis de Rosanbo, of which there is a palaeographical transcript edited by Ulysse Robert. Of the readings of a sister MS., destroyed by fire in 1774, there are reports by several witnesses which unhappily do not always agree. A small fraction of Book I. is preserved in the *Scheda Petri Danielis* (D). In it the verses are separated from each other as in N and V (below). But in P (as in the lost R) they are written continuously.

A number of the fables contained in PR and others not so contained, the *Appendix Perottina*, are extant in N, a MS. at Naples, now almost wholly illegible from damp, and therefore necessarily supplemented by V, a copy in the Vatican, first described and collated by Cardinal Mai.

Nor is this all. At some time or other after the decline of classical literature there came into being and popular currency a collection or collections of Latin prose fables, which included amongst others a number of the Fables of Phaedrus or portions of such Fables variously modified and transformed. These are the 'Fables of the Medieval Paraphrasts' as they are called.¹

These 'paraphrasts' furnish indications here and there by which corruptions in the direct tradition may be removed or gaps therein detected and supplied. But in addition they give a certain number of fables extant neither in PR nor in the MSS. of the *Appendix Perottina*, which internal testimony stamps as the work of Phaedrus, and which in some instances may be restored

¹ For our knowledge of these we are indebted in the first instance to L. Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins*, vol. 2 (1893), and subsequently to G. Thiele,

Der illustrierte lateinische Aesop in der Handschrift des Ademar (1905) and *Der lateinische Aesop des Romulus* (1910).

without difficulty or improbability to their metrical form. For my present purpose, the improvement of the text of Phaedrus, this is all that need be said. It is admitted on all hands that certain vestiges and remnants of the truth as regards our author are preserved in these collections, for whose character and genesis the reader may consult the two works by G. Thiele, and especially *Der lateinische Aesop des Romulus*, already referred to.

It cannot be doubted that the text of the *Fables*, in the source or sources from which the authorities already specified have derived it, had been corrupted by incorporation of glosses and notes, whether marginal or interlinear, and by actual interpolation. Of the former we have examples at I. 22. 7, where after *deuores* the text of P has the intruding addition 'hic intellige soricem' (the late Latin equivalent of *murem*) 'esse generis masculini' after III. 1. 52, where 'frige(m) fuisse Aesopum' (a truncated comment) stood in the original of PR; after IV. 23. (24) 2 'expectatio quod ille pareret.' I. 28. 1 'homines humiles' P may be another case or a doublet arising from correction. An instructive example is found at I. 26. 4*, where the genuine *marmore* has been displaced by glosses *patena*, *scutella*, *catino* in PR and all the paraphrasts save one.¹

These glosses are sometimes revealed by irreconcilable divergences in or between our authorities, as in the last cited instance and at I. 15. 1, which PR give as 'In principatu commutando *ciuuium saepius*,' where *ciuuium* is merely a qualification of *pauperes* in the following line.² Other instances are I. 2. 28* *deus* PR, *Iupiter* or *altitonans* the 'paraphrasts.' Read *Tonans*. I. 21. 5* 'ad eum uenit' P, 'uenit ad eum' D, whereas the paraphrasts present 'uenit ad eum spumans' or the like, while *spumans* is supported by the reminiscence in Martial XI. 69. 1. The *ad eum* is not required; for *uenit* without it see Verg. *Ecl.* X. 19 and 24 in a similar situation. App. XXVI. 1* *uenatorem* N(?)V, *persecutorem* or *persequentem* the paraphrasts; read *persequentem* or *se sequentem*.

Sometimes the gloss may be detected by its senselessness. So 'sine mercede' IV. 2. 8, which should be *gratuito*, 'poetae' IV. Epil. (V. 5.) 9*, which is a misunderstanding of *cantores* and 'partes' in NV IV. 25. (26) 13. Sometimes the gloss has been fused with the genuine reading. So apparently at I. 5. 7*, where 'nominor' is partly a gloss on *cluo* and partly a corruption of *nomine hoc* (Bentley). The same may have happened at V. 1. 18, where Menander appears before Demetrius, 'unguento delibutus, uestitu fluens | ueniebat gressu delicato et languido.' This puts the tyrant in a fury, and he applies to the poet the opprobrious term *cinaedus* (15). But on learning who he is he changes round at once 'mutatis statim | "homo" inquit "fieri non potest formosior," according to the reading of all our texts. But the proper opposite to *cinaedus* is not *formosus* (*cinaedi* were often and no doubt usually claimed to be *formosi*) but *fortis*, or a synonym of *fortis*, as we

¹ See Havet's note *ad loc.* and Thiele's in *d. lat. Aesop*, No. XCIII., where the MS. evidence is given in full. Compare my remarks in the current volume of *Class. Phil.*, where also the

passages of Phaedrus, distinguished above and below by an appended asterisk, are discussed.

² *Saeptus* (by the way) is to be construed not with *commutando* but with the following *mutant*.

see from Phaedrus himself, App. VIII. 19, '*fortem uirum*,' compare ib. 18 '*cinaedus habitu sed Mars uiribus*.' Phaedrus however would not use *fortior*, as it failed to give him one of his *doubles ententes* ['inprobi iocus Phaedri' (Martial); cf. III. 11. 5]. Hence I conjectured in the note to Dr. Gow's *Corpus* text that *neruosior* should be read, and I compared Catullus 67. 27. '*formosior*' would have come from an over-written '*fortior*.' *neruis*, if M. Havet's conjecture is right, is used in App. XI. 4 as a synonym of *uiribus*.

One of the most frequent causes of interpolation in MSS. is Loss when detected by a scribe or a reader or reviser; and of Loss a very common species is that arising from the proximity of similar letters or words or of similar groups of these (Homoigraphon). There is no lack of instances in the textual tradition of Phaedrus. I subjoin a few illustrations, enclosing omitted letters or words between the symbols < >:

I. 1. 7, '*quer<er>is*'; I. 8. 2, '*quoniam <in>dignos*'; I. 10. 8, '*sent<ent>iam*' P;

II. Prol. 9, '*interpone<re>*';

III. Prol. 52, '*Anacharsi<s> Scytha*'; III. 7. 3, '*oc<cu>currit*'; III. Epil. 8, '*nostrae <prae>mium*' P;

IV. 1. 4, '*circum <in>*'; IV. 7. 13, '*scele<re>*' P;

V. Prol. 2, '*reddi<di>*'; V. 7. 25, '*mo<do>reducto*'; V. 9. 4, '*ante hoc noui <tu> quam natus es*'.¹

At III. 15. 11 sq. P omits all from '*porro*' to '*<pro>fecisset*.'

An excellent restoration of M. Chauvin at App. III. 1 sq. is based on this consideration, '*Mercurium hospitio mulieres <uiduae> duae | illiberali et sordido receperant*.' The proper framing of the anecdote requires that it should be *stated* that neither of the women had a husband though one of them had a child. Other passages where this principle has been or may be applied to amend the text are II. 2. 3 sq. '*aetatis mediae quendam mulier non rudis | tegebat annos celans elegantia*,' '*te<ne>bat*' Prasch; '*tebat*' was filled up from the neighbouring *celans*,² IV. 18. (19) 5, '*maxim<e> explerent famem*' L. Mueller, *maxim-* was filled up to *maximam* PR. We may add III. 8. 9 sq.* '*<pu>pulum*' altered in PR from *pulum* to the facile '*filium*,' IV. 18. (19) 17* '*<ca>catus*,' PR '*<le>gatos*' from the context.

I conclude with a pair of examples which illustrate the infidelity of both PR and NV in respect of such alterations.

In V. 1. 15 sq. the PR tradition has '*quisnam cinaedus ille in conspectu meo | audet uenire?*' and NV offer the same, with however the very obvious alteration of *in conspectum meum*, which L. Mueller, notwithstanding his well-grounded distrust of Cardinal Perotti's work, has placed in the text. M. Havet, more critically, accepts the witness of PR, which convicts *uenire* of corruption.

¹ The *tu* is attested by a paraphrast. Some less probably insert it after '*quam*.'

² Just as at IV. 7. 16 '*infecit*' was changed to '*interfecit*' through the vicinity of '*caede*.'

For *uenire* however he takes the *uenari* of M. Chauvin—a conjecture sufficiently refuted by the inadequacy of the parallel adduced to support it. In IV. 5. 4 ‘*unam formosam et oculis uenantem uiros*,’ the sense intended is obtained by the addition to the verb of an accusative of the object and an ablative of the means. Neither is present here. The expression appropriate to the author and the subject has been divined by Dr. Gow, to wit ‘<ce>uere.’ When homoigraphon had produced its effect by reducing this to *uere*, *uenire* was the obvious correction. In V. 3. 9 sqq. on the other hand the case is reversed, and editors have allowed a commonplace emendation in PR to blind them to the merits of the alternative in NV. Phaedrus wrote

sed *te*, contempti generis animal improbum,
quae delectaris bibere humanum sanguinem,
optem *carere* uel maiore incommodo.

For *carere* ‘to be rid of’ compare Ov. *Her.* VII. 47 sq. ‘exerces pretiosa odia et constantia magno, | si, dum *me careas*, est tibi uile mori,’ Seneca *Suasor.* 6. 23 ‘quod nihil in salutem eius aliud illi quam si *caruisset Antonio* placuit.’ The sense of *carere* is excellent and beyond the reach of amateur correction. But somewhere in the line of descent by which PR have come to us *re* was lost after *re*. And with *care* left standing by *te* both case and sense appeared to clamour for the *necare* which has found its way into all our texts.

I. 3. 5 sqq. (Thiele, No. XLV.)

deinde contemnens suos
immiscuit se pauonum formoso gregi.
illi impudenti pennas eripiunt aui
fugantque *rostris*. male mulcatus gragulus e.q.s.

The unmetrical verse 6 in this fable of the Daw with Borrowed Plumes has been amended in various ways. M. Havet’s *immiscet se* seems more likely than *se immiscuit* or *miscuit*. But to account for the *uit*, I would suggest *immiscet se ut* with a comma after *gregi*. For *ut* ‘when’ with the historic present cf. III. 10. 27 ‘*ut sentit* tonsum, gladio pectus transigit.’ The postponement of the conjunction *ut*, like that of other conjunctions, is common enough in Phaedrus.

In 8 the *rostris* of PR might pass without challenge but for the indications of the paraphrasts. ‘Ademar’, which generally, and in this place particularly keeps very close to the words of Phaedrus, presents ‘illi imprudenti pennas eripiunt aui, effugantque *miserum*. male mulcatus gragulus’ e.q.s. *miserum* is of course corrupt, but not a corruption of *rostris*. Of what it is a corruption the other paraphrasts may show. The MSS. included under Thiele’s *Gallic Recension* give in their expanded expression ‘illi ignoto et impudenti pennas uniuersi eripiunt, calcibus et *morsibus fatigant*,’ continuing ‘et grauiter maleque saucius redire timuit miser ad proprium suum genus,’ the Recension of W (the Wissemburg MS., now at Wolfenbüttel) has for the words in question ‘*morsibus autem laceratum atque semiuiuum fugauerunt*. male acceptus ille

garulus (*i.e.* graculus) dixit,' while the MSS. of Thiele's *Ancient Recension* have 'calcibusque ac morsibus fatigauerunt seminiuumque dimiserunt. tum grauiter ille sauciatus' *e.q.s.* A comparison of these variants shows that there was a duplicate reading in the medieval tradition, the *rostris* of PR and a lection to which *miserū* comes nearest in form and *morsibus* in sense. This can be nothing else than *morsu*. Phaedrus, it may be added, uses only the ablative singular and plural of *morsus* in three and one passages respectively. But whether he used it here is another matter.

I. 20. 3 sqq.

corium depressum in fluuio uiderunt canes :
id ut comesse extractum possent facilius
 aquam coepere ebibere ; sed rupti prius
 periire quam quod petierant contingerent.

This is the reading of D ; but between *prius* and *periire* PR add *ibi*, which needs accounting for. As the *id* of 4 can be dispensed with, I suggest that it should be replaced by *ibi*.

II. 1. 9 sq.

tunc diuiso tergore
 siluas petiuit, homini ut accessum daret.

The Considerate Lion divides the carcase of the bullock that he has killed, and retires into the forest that the Good Traveller may take his share. But no example of *tergore* in this connexion is forthcoming. The nearest is its use for a 'flitch,' in Ovid *Met.* VIII. 649 ('sordida *terga* suis' has preceded), which seems to be a transformation due to confusion of *tergus* 'hide' and the *tegus* of older Latin (Plautus *Capt.* 902, etc.). And it is not surprising that *corpore* has been proposed. I think however that the sense needed is 'flesh' and that 'homoigraphon' has been at work here, and I conjecture 'tunc diuiso | <uisc>ere.' For the meaning and the number cf. e.g. Lucilius 475 'pane et uiscere' 'bread and meat,' Lucretius III. 719. It is noteworthy that Charisius quotes our phrase from Ovid, 'Ouidius singulariter *uiscere diuiso*.' Gr. L. (K.) I. p. 550. 18.

II. 7.

Muli grauati sarcinis ibant duo :
 unus ferebat fiscos cum pecunia,
 alter tumentes multo saccos hordeo.
 ille, onere diues, celsa ceruice eminet,
 clarumque collo iactat tintinnabulum ; 5
 comes quieto sequitur et placido gradu.
 subito latrones ex insidiis aduolant
 interque caedem ferro *mulum* sauciant,
 diripiunt nummos, neglegunt uile hordeum.
 spoliatus igitur casus cum fleret suos, 10
 'equidem' inquit alter 'me contemptum gaudeo :
 nam nil a misi nec sum laesus uulnere.'

I have printed the whole of this fable and marked by spaced type the words most relevant to my present purpose, in order that the corruption in v. 8 may appear in the clearest light. There are two mules in the incident, and, as we expect from a workmanlike Latin writer, they are carefully distinguished in the narrative. The most careless reader of lines 2, 3, 4, 6, 10 (where *spoliatus* is the equivalent of a Greek participle with article prefixed, a common usage in Silver and poetical Latin) and 11 cannot doubt which of the two animals is meant. But in the verse which is the pivot of the whole action what do we find? Why, the wounded animal described as *mulum*, that is as 'a mule' or as 'the mule.' The first is senseless, and the second false; for 'the mule' could only mean the unassuming animal of the previous line. Throughout the apologue the mules regard their loads as their own possessions. Hence the *nil amisi* of the one mule, while the other is rich (*onere diues*) until he is 'robbed.' It surely needs no great perspicacity to divine that here too a gloss has ousted the original reading

mulum
interque caedem ditem ferro sauciant.

But most of our editors, vainly busied in extracting something from the corrupt alteration *trucidant* which P(R) offer for the *sauciant* of NV, have let the chief culprit go. The naïveté of the interpreter who thought it needful to explain that the 'rich one' was not a man but a mule would have delighted Cobet. He was a twin-brother of the author of the traditional text of Herodotus III. 32 init. in the description of Cambyzes' match of a lion whelp and a puppy *νικωμένου δὲ τοῦ σκύλακος ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ [ἄλλον σκύλακα!] ἀπορρήξαντα τὸν δεσμὸν παραγενέσθαι οἱ.*

III. Prol. 45 sqq.

suspicionē si quis errabit sua,
et rapiet ad se quod erit commune omnium,
stulte nudabit animi conscientiam.
huic excusatum me uelim nihilo minus;
neque enim notare singulos mens est mihi,
uerum ipsam uitam et mores hominum ostendere. 50

Phaedrus desires to propitiate those who are angry with his fables because 'the cap fits.' It seems clear that the apodosis to *si* is contained in v. 48, not in 47, because otherwise there is no point in 'nihilominus.' If so, then 'rapiet—nudabit' will be an asyndeton, for which there is no sufficient justification, as *nudabit* is not contrasted with *rapiet* but is a consequence from it. *rapiens* (*rapiēs*) for *rapiet*, with a comma after 'conscientiam,' would be an easy improvement. The verbal forms are confused at II. 6. 11 (*uadens* V.) and II. 7. 4, 5.

III. 5. 10

comprehensus namque poenas persoluit cruce.

There is not the slightest fault to be found with this line as it appears in

PR. NV however have *solvit sceleris*, which may point to a variant version, to wit, *solvit facinoris*.

III. 15. (Thiele No. XXXIII.)

Inter capellas agno *ballanti* canis
'stulte' inquit 'errās; non est hic mater tua.'

Thus PR, *balanti* NV. But the paraphrasts (excluding Ademar and Wissemburg which do not give the fable) present 'inter capellas agno *uaganti* canis dixisse fertur,' except that one MS. has *ragienti*, which is conceivably meant for *uagienti*. Hence Salmasius and Präsch conjectured *palanti*, accepted by M. Havet. The word however is no more a synonym of *uagari* than English 'straggle' is of 'wander.' If *uaganti* and *bal(l)anti* are to be combined, their common original should be *oberranti*, the first letter having been lost through the homoiographon in 'agno.' The elision presents no difficulty in Phaedrus, cf. Havet § 26, also IV. 16. (17) 3 'feminae aequassent.' But the evidence is not absolutely decisive, and *balanti* is tolerable.

III. Epil. 11 sq.

et hoc minus *ueniet* ad me muneris
quo plus consumet temporis dilatio.

So PR, and upon this do the editors build. But *redibit* 'will duly come' seems to be the most appropriate verb; cf. IV. 26. 19 '*rediit* hora dicta' 'came in due course,' v. 8 'breuitati nostrae praemium ut *reddas* peto,' and at IV. 22. 7 NV have *redire*, while PR give *uenire*, upon which also correction is generally based. The corruption is found elsewhere in Latin MSS., e.g. at Hor. *Carm.* IV. 5. 31, *Epist.* II. 2. 22.

IV. 2. 3 sq.

sed diligenter intueri has *nenias*;
quantum *subtilis* utilitatem reperies.

The Vulgate correction is *sub illis* (Pithou), of which M. Havet says 'post *has nefas*.' This statement is too strong, and his own correction *sub titulis*, though palaeographically plausible, does not provide a satisfactory expression. I submit as possible

quanta m <in> pusillis.

IV. 6. 1 sq.

cum uicti mures mustelarum exercitu
(historia *quorum* in tabernis pingitur).

The current emendation of the faulty metre is the *quorum et* of Heinsius and Bentley, with an *et* at best superfluous. M. Havet prefers the *quouis* of Dressler, to which, as indeed to *quorum* likewise, it may be objected that we should expect *quae*, and not a genitive of the relative. I propose *quot sunt*, that is, a story painted up in all the booths there are, a colloquial exaggeration recalling the similar turn in Catullus 47. 1 'adeste hendecasyllabi, *quot*

estis, | *omnes undique*,' and 49. 2. *quotsunt* might easily pass to *quorsum*, and from this to *quorum* was but a step.

IV. 17. (18.) 8

factus periculosus tum gubernator sophus.

So P, R apparently having *periculo sis* with a line (of junction over the *sis* ?). The vulgate *periclo*, Pithou's correction, leaves the *sis* unexplained, while Orelli's *periclis* does not account for the -os- and in addition gives us an inappropriate plural. The superfluity of syllables suggests the presence of a doublet, which receives some support from the indications in R. I suggest that *periculo sis* is for *periclo sic*, and that the *tum* should be struck out as an attempt at explanation or improvement.

Appendix XI. 9 sq.

*ferendus esses, arte si te diceris
superasse qui esset melior uiribus.*

The halting metre of v. 10 may be more easily set right than by M. Havet's insertion of *quam tu* before *qui*, or by the other devices which are recorded in his notes, if we read

superasse eum qui te esset melior uiribus.

In the previous line Halbertsma's *arte* for *forte* seems necessary.

Appendix XVI. 6 sq.

*postquam esurire coepit fera societas,
discerpsit dominum et fecit partes facinoris.*

V. 6 is unmetrical, *fera* having been drawn from its place by the attraction of its noun. It was put by L. Mueller, whom M. Havet follows, after *societas*. But it is more probable that it has come from the earlier part of the line, and should precede *esurire*.

In 7 I had conjectured *funeris* 'the corpse,' when I found this conjecture had already been made by M. L. Duvau and adopted in M. Havet's school edition (1916).

Appendix XXI. 7 sq.

*cum circumspectans errore haesisset diu
et perdidisset tempus aliquot milium.*

M. Havet rejects *errore*, the simple correction of V's *orrorre*, on the double ground, as it would seem, of sense and of metre. So far as sense goes, nothing more appropriate than *error* could be found. It means 'bewilderment' 'perplexity,' as at III. 10. 41, IV. 5. 33; compare *errare* at Lucan VIII. 804 with my note. The metrical question is more difficult. This does appear to be the only place in Phaedrus where there is an elision in the caesura of a spondaic fourth foot, unless in App. VIII. 28 we read *hostile* for *hosti*, where the vulgate has *hostis* and M. Havet prints *hosticum*, an emendation which his own comment refutes; cf. 'hostile corpus' I. 21. 8. If the metre bars *error(e)*,

we must then fall back on *error* with the Phaedrian use of the abstract. Instances like 'decepta auditas—dimisit cibum' I. 4. 5 sq. or 'nec hanc repulsam tua sentiret calamitas' I. 3. 16 (to quote only two) go far to justify 'circumspectans error haesisset.'

Appendix XXIV. 1 sqq. (Thiele, No. xcv.)

Odiosa cornix super ouem consederat,
quam dorso cum tulisset inuita et diu,
'hoc,' inquit, 'si dentato fecisses cani
poenas dedisses.

So PR. I have already, in a forthcoming paper (*Classical Philology*, vol. XIII., 1918), argued that 'inuita et diu' is unsound. With my change to *inuito* the PR reading becomes tolerable. But a little indication in the paraphrasts points to something quite different, which I will now submit as an alternative. It may be premised that the vulgate leaves us to conjecture what the *cornix* did to the sheep when it had perched on its back. But Ademar has 'oui cornix consederat *tundens* dorsum eius. hoc cum diu fecisset ait ouis cani temptationem hanc' (an attempt to make something of the corruption *temptato* (tentato) for *dentato*, as Thiele *ad loc.* has correctly divined) 'non ferres latratum eius' (a simple substitute for *poenas dedisses*). Now *tundere* (κρούειν) is the very word which Plautus uses for a bird's incessant pecking at *As.* 262 'sed quid hoc quod *picus ulmum tundit?* hau temerariumst,' and Ademar's 'hoc cum diu *fecisset*' means no more and no less than *tutudisset*, of which, when *tu* had fallen out before *tu*, the *tulisset* of PR would be an easy corruption, while *inuita et* is merely *inuita e* with a wrong division of the word and an exceedingly common corruption. Two other slight changes are required to restore the variant reading *quae dorsū* for *quā dorso*, and we obtain

quae dorsum cum tutudisset inuitae diu

Nauck, it may be added, as I learn from M. Havet's note, had already proposed *quae*; but with the vulgate this change does not seem to be necessary.

J. P. POSTGATE.

LIVERPOOL,
January 5, 1918.

(To be continued.)

RESTORATIONS AND EMENDATIONS IN LIVY VI.-X.

(Cf. *Classical Quarterly* IV. (1910), p. 267; V. p. 1.)

Continued.

BOOK IX.

IX. 6. 12. (The young nobles of Capua describe the bearing of the Romans released from the Caudine Forks after having passed under the yoke.)

iacere indolem illam Romanam ablatusque cum armis animos; non reddere salutem, non salutantibus dare responsum, non hiscere quemquam prae metu potuisse.

So *MPFU_pOTDLA*, but *F²O* add a punct after *salutem*, and *TDA* write the following *non* with a capital; by this time (pp. 5 sq., 13, sup.) we know what these things suggest.

salutantibus dare responsum means nothing whatever more than *salutem reddere*, cf. e.g. 7. 5. 4 *salute accepta redditaeque*, so also 3. 26. 9. Hence Madvig puts a comma and the *non* after *salutantibus*, which avoids the tautology more in appearance than reality and does not explain why the *non* was misplaced. The whole clause (*non . . . responsum*) should be deleted as a gloss, of unimpeachable veracity, to *non reddere salutem*.

IX. 9. 17. Nihil ergo vobis nec nobiscum est quibus nihil mandastis nec cum Samnitibus cum quibus nihil egistis.

So the clauses stand, rightly in *PFU_pOT*. But in *DLA* the second member *nec cum . . . egistis* is completely lost. In *M* it is omitted, but our friendly *his* (p. 3 sup.) stands in its place, and far above in the margin *h^d* introduced the omitted words. The corrector in *A* (*A²*) following *M* (as always) has been less careful; while giving the words correctly he indicates that they are to be inserted after *ergo vobis*. Now if we had only *DL* and the (uncorrected) *A* we should have lost half the sentence; if we had only *A²* we should have had the two *nec*-clauses, but in what, as it is, we know to be the wrong order. We commend this simple case, in which every step of the corruption is patent, to any reader who doubts the likelihood of such permutations.

IX. 11. 10. (The Samnite C. Pontius repudiates the surrender of Postumius.)

Ego uero istos quos dedi simulatis nec accipio nec dedi arbitror nec moror quo minus in ciuitatem oblactam sponsione commissa iratis omnibus dis quorum eluditur numen redeant.

The curious form *oblactam* is given by *MP* (*obluctam* or *obuictam* *O*; *obluctam* *TDLA*; *oblitam* *Up*; *obligatam* *F*³; the -g- seems to have come from *F* himself), and by Harl. 2 (which Zingerle confounds¹ with the *H.* of Books I.-VIII.—an authority five hundred years older) and a late corrector in *A*: *obruptum* by *dett. aliq.* The best conjecture yet offered is that of *F*³, or Jac. Gronov's *obstrictam*; but why was either corrupted? We think that *conuictam* may be right in form as it is in meaning; cf. Cic. *de Dom.* § 145 *hanc ego deuotionem capitis mei, cum ero in meas sedes restitutus, tum denique conuictam et commissam putabo.* It is a much commoner construction to attach *conuictus* to the defaulter than to the pledge which he has taken as Cicero here does; if our conjecture be right, the combination of *conuictus* and *commissus* in both passages may suggest either that it was a standing phrase, or that Livy had Cicero's sentence in his mind.²

But how did *conuic-* become *obluc-*? By the use of a symbol whose occurrence in our Nicomachean archetype we have many times observed (see our note on 5. 43. 1, and add to its nine examples now further 9. 23. 12; 10. 31. 12; and perhaps 9. 15. 9), and which one of us [in *Class. Quart.* II. (1908), p. 210 footnote] proposed to call the *siglum Floriacense*—namely, a vertical instead of a horizontal line above a vowel to denote a nasal. In minuscule hand (and possibly in majuscule³) *cô* may easily be read as *ob-*; indeed it was the likeliest interpretation to a scribe unfamiliar with the siglum. *O* interpreted or rather copied the word as something between *obuictam* and *obluctam*, the rest did their best after their several manners. In 10. 46. 1 *F* has *cô-* for *ob-*; cf. also 29. 26. 7 and 29. 27. 6 where *con-* and *oc-* are twice confused; and 21. 8. 2 *obortum* in *A* for *coortum* in *CMD*.

IX. 18. 11. Miremur si cum ex hac parte saecula plura numerentur quam ex illa anni, plus in tam longo spatio quam in tredecim annorum aetate fortuna uariauerit? Quin tu hominis cum homine et ducis cum duce fortunam cum fortuna confers? Quot Romanos duces nominem quibus nunquam aduersa fortuna fuit? Paginas in annalibus . . . percurrere licet consulum dictatorumque quorum nec uirtutis nec fortunae ullo die populum Romanum paenituit.

So *PFUpOTDLA*, except that in the second sentence *F* has *duces* instead of *ducis* and *T* has *fortuna* instead of *fortunam*. Thanks to the occurrence of the word *fortuna* before *uariauerit* also, *M* has unluckily dropped out this sentence save the word *confers*. The missing words contain just fifty-four letters, and no doubt contained three lines of the uncial archetype; the

¹ See our Preface to Books I.-V., p. vi footnote.

² See Addendum I. on p. 104.

³ Where the *b* commonly appears with a very small upper half.

line before them ended with *aetate fortuna*, and the last of the three lost was clearly *fortunam cum fortuna*.

The current method of dealing with the confusion is to excise *cum fortuna* as the addition of a stupid scribe—no doubt a possible hypothesis. So Madvig (anticipated, according to Zingerle, by Benedict). But this is to overlook a difficulty which Livy found quite serious, and which his correctors prudently neglect. Who is the *homo*, the *dux* on the Roman side who is to be compared with Alexander? In c. 16. 19 Livy carefully avoids making such a claim for Papirius, though he mentions, in passing, that others did so (*destinant*, not *destinare*). But, by neglecting this, the whole point of Livy's boyish yet still thoughtful *deliberatio*¹ is lost, and that though Livy himself expresses it quite clearly in the sentences immediately preceding and following this comparison and printed above. Granted that no one man was the equal of Alexander; but could the latter alone have met all the company of great commanders whom Rome could have sent against him in any series of years? *Quot Romanos duces* is Livy's argument; and it is surely absurd in face of this to make him speak as if he had some unique, but quite unnamed, general to set against Alexander.

As usual the MSS. themselves give us the clue. Read *duces* with *F* instead of *ducis*,² and alter *hominis* to *homines*, as Weissenborn suggested long ago. The *et* might perhaps go too, as being an attempt to introduce some balance into the sentence when once the accusatives had been corrupted into genitives. But it may be defended as coupling *homines* and *duces*, the more personal side (character and generalship) in contrast to the *fortuna* which, though a possession, was personal in a less degree, or at least in another way; indeed it may be that the presence of *et* here, but not before *fortunam*, was one of the factors which led to the change to the genitive, if it was a conscious change at all. The contrast between *fortuna* and *virtus* appears in the next sentence, and is a strong reason against restricting the scope of the sentence under discussion to *fortuna* alone, as is done by the current text.

The sentence then becomes 'Quin tu homines cum homine, duces cum duce, fortunam cum fortuna confers?' But if anyone prefers to keep *et* before *duces* we shall not quarrel with him.

quantus maximus and *quantus maxime*.

IX. 24. 9 decurrit inde quanto maxime poterat cum tumultu
'ad arma' . . . clamitans.

IX. 10. 10 quanta maxime poterat ui perculit.

X. 40. 8 quanto maxime posset moto puluere³ ostendere.

XXI. 41. 4 regressus ad naus quanta maxime potui celeritate tanto maris terrarumque circuitu.

XXIV. 35. 5 quantae maxime possent peditum equitumque copiae in Siciliam traicerentur.

¹ On the character of the digression in *ce.* 18, 19, see App. II. in Prof. Anderson's edition. Our own study confirms his conclusion.

² The confusion of *-is* and *-es* in any part of the third declension needs no illustration.

³ Or as we read *motu pulueris se*.

In all these five passages Madvig changes the adverb *maxime* of the MSS. to the adjective *maximo*, *maxima*, or *maximae*, on the authority of a note of Zumpt on Curtius 4. 34. 10 (= Drakenborch's citation 4. 8. 10) *quanta maxima celeritate potuit*. (We have omitted commas for reasons that will appear below.) Zumpt's note is possibly based on Drakenborch's notes on 7. 9. 8 and 9. 10. 10; in the former Drakenborch says 'uel etiam legi posset (sc. unless the MSS. were against it) *quanta* (instead of *quantum*) *maxima uoce potuit* : cuius locutionis ex Liuiio plura exempla uide infra ad lib. IX. cap. x. § 10;' then giving some non-Livian passages, and amongst them the passage in Curtius *l.c.* he says 'ubi uidendi Acidal. et Freinshem. nec non doctiss. Snakenb.¹ ad Curtii lib. V. cap. ix. § 1. Adde etiam uiros doctos ad Quintil. Declam. CCCXXIII. pag. 653.' At the 9. 10. 10 passage Drakenborch, after saying that *quanta maxima ui poterat* would be possible (as in fact some later MSS. write instead of *poterat ui*), adds with his usual caution: 'quod non displiceret, si aut plures aut grauioris auctoritatis codices testimonio suo comprobarent. Liuius enim saepius ita locutus est.' These words of wisdom and caution are disregarded by Madvig, and with them the grauioris auctoritatis codices in favour of some codices deteriores (as so often, especially in the third Decade) and Zumpt's note on Curtius! Even the dett. sometimes fail to support him; and even if we grant it to be possible that in 24. 35. 5 Put. may have written *maxime* by mistake for *maximae*, it must be pointed out that *e* for *ae* is not so frequent in Put. as *ae* for *e*; also that Put. has written in this very sentence *quantae* and *copiae* correctly.

If we turn now to the examples of the adjectival agreement of *maximus* with the noun we find two slightly different types:²

(a) 10. 39. 9 (and 10. 41. 8) *quanta maxima ui posset* (possent).

26. 46. 3 *quanto maximo cursu poterant*.

27. 43. 12 *quantis maximis itineribus poterat* ad collegam ducebat [Put., but *poterat itineribus Pal. 3* (Luchs' V.) $\alpha\beta\gamma\delta\epsilon$ with Gelenius, and therefore possibly Spirensis].

30. 25. 8 *quanto maximo impetu poterant*; to which may be added 7. 9. 8 *quantum maxima uoce potuit*.

(b) 10. 29. 9 *ut signo dato in transuersos quanto maximo possent impetu incurrerent*.

23. 16. 12 *quanto maximo possent impetu in hostem erumpere iubet*.

27. 43. 12 if the (possibly Spirensian) reading of Gelenius be adopted (see above).

24. 35. 5 if Madvig be right in changing *quantae maxime . . . copiae* of Put. to *quantae maximae . . . copiae*.

28. 1. 6 *Silanus quantis maximis poterat itineribus—impediebant autem et asperitates uiarum et angustiae saltibus crebris*, ut

¹ See Addendum II. on p. 104.

² See Addendum III. on p. 104.

pleraque Hispaniae sunt, inclusae—tamen non solum nuntios sed etiam famam aduentus sui praegressus, ducibus indidem ex Celtiberia transfugis ad hostem peruenit.

We find then that (1) most often the noun is next to *maximus*, and therefore clearly within the relative-clause, (2) less often it follows *possum*, and may be regarded as either within or outside the relative-clause according to 'the balance of the clauses' in the period. The principle is particularly clear in the example from Book XXVIII., thanks to the long parenthesis. Drakenborch, we think, agrees with this view, for he regularly puts the comma after the noun¹; from Madvig's commas we can hardly with certainty discover anything except 'the golden rule' that all relative-clauses must be always flanked with commas, so that in his text the noun is always² included between this pair of policemen, whether justly or not.

Applying this principle of 'the balance of the clauses' to the examples of *maxime*, we consider that at 9. 10. 10 *quanta maxime poterat ui perculit* the balance rather attaches *ui* to *perculit*; if with Drakenborch and Madvig we threw *ui* into the relative-clause, we feel that we should be inclined by our examples to write *maxima* with Madvig. At 9. 24. 9 Madvig (writing *maximo*) throws the *cum tumultu* into the relative-clause; Drakenborch punctuates thus: *decurrit inde, quanto . . . poterat, cum tumultu, ad arma*, etc. Here the order in relation to the *possum* is nearer type (b) above, but the noun is separated further from the *maximus* or *maxime* by the *cum*; also the main verb *decurrit* precedes the relative-clause, but part of the main clause follows after *cum tumultu*: it seems best not to obscure the manuscript evidence here. Not unlike this in the precession of the verb is 21. 41. 4 *regressus quanta maxime* (Put. is represented by CM) *potui celeritate*, but here the balance and sense require a pause or punctuation after *celeritate*, if not also a change of reading (with Madvig) to *maxima*. Finally at 24. 35. 5 Madvig punctuates thus: *quantae maxime* (but writes *maximae*) *possent, peditum equitumque copiae in Siciliam traicerentur*; here we should consider that either his reading or his punctuation must be wrong, and that as no pause is reasonably possible after *copiae*, which is the subject of the sentence followed directly by the predicate, we conclude that Put. is right and Madvig wrong in altering that text. We think therefore the evidence shows that (1) where the adverb *maxime* is used, the verb *possum* immediately follows it, separating the noun from the relative clause; (2) where the noun is indisputably included in the relative clause, the adjective *maximus* is used in agreement with it; (3) the adjective is also used when the noun follows *possum*, but that in the majority of cases it is thrown by the balance of the clauses into connexion with the words that precede it. So far therefore as the text is concerned we make no alterations³ in the readings of the MSS.

¹ See Addendum IV. on p. 105.

² There is an exception in 37. 59. 1.

³ See Addendum V. on p. 105.

IX. 40. 3. This part of the chapter describes the splendid armour of two Samnite armies, one with gilded, one with silvered shields. It concludes thus:

Tunicae auratis militibus uersicolores, argentatis linteae candidae. His dextrum cornu datum: illi in sinistro consistunt.

So far as we have observed there is no trace of loss in any of our MSS., but the combined evidence of Donatus (Keil's *Gram. Lat.* IV. 542¹) and Nonius (194. 20 s.v. *balteus*) attributes to Livy (Nonius says *ex Libro VIII.*) two brief passages which seem to belong here, though no one hitherto has succeeded in finding a place for them free from difficulty.

Nonius quotes these words: *auratae uaginae, aurata baltea illis erant.*

Georges proposed to put this in § 2 after *exercitus erant*, which must be wrong, as it would gild the scabbards and belts of the Silver army as well as of the Golden.

The citation of Donatus and Probus is briefer: *erant et equorum in aurata tapeta*. This L. Mueller proposed to append to the scabbards and belts and to insert the whole after *adderent* in § 3, prefacing it however by a little free composition,² attributing these details to the cavalry.

The words appear perfectly Livian, and we quite agree with Georges and Müller that they fit no other passage so well as the present. Can we find a place for them?

By the help of the linear method, which has already been used with what we hope the reader will regard as at least some degree of success (see above on 8. 8. 4, pp. 11 sq.), and keeping to our norm of eighteen to nineteen letters for the uncial line, modified only by the preference (often shown in the Veronensis) for ending a line with the end of a word if it can be done without too much waste of space, we propose to insert them after *linteae candidae* (§ 3), inventing *de nostro* only a parallel clause (which we give in italics) about the 'silver' army, thus:

TISLINTEAECANDIDAE
hisuaginaeargenteae
*balteaargentea*AVRA
 TAEVAGINAEAVRATABA
 LTEAILLISERANTETEQ
 VORVMINAVRATATAPETA
 HISDEXTRVMCORNVDATV̄

Or in more legible form:

Tunicae auratis militibus uersicolores, argentatis linteae candidae. <His uaginae argenteae, baltea argentea>: auratae uaginae,

¹ Probus also (ib. IV. 129) quotes the phrase, but ascribes it to Lucilius or Vergil. It is not in Vergil; if it came from Lucilius, L. Mueller's

aurata for *inaurata* would be plausible.

² Sed maxime equitum facies oculos in se conuertit.

aurata baltea illis erant, et equorum inaurata tapeta.
His dextrum cornu datum.

We suppose that the loss arose through the recurrence of the word *his* at the beginning of a line. The addition of the silvered scabbards and belts seems necessary for its own sake, whereas the detail about the horse-cloths reads more like an after-thought which could be allowed to suggest (without demanding precise statement) how the horses of the 'silver' men were draped—presumably in white, to match their riders' tunics. This restoration has the advantage of putting the 'golden' army on the right, which seems a priori their proper place (though nothing follows to determine it) instead of on the left.

No such conjecture can claim more than a reasonable degree of probability; but we are convinced that none ought to be accepted which does not offer some intelligible reason for the loss, and which does not adapt itself to the linear system of the uncial archetype.

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R. S. CONWAY.

(To be continued.)

ADDENDA.

We have again to thank Professor Postgate and Professor Anderson for valuable comments on the proofs of this article, and we now desire to make the following additions to it:

1. For suggested *conuictam* (p. 99) Professor Postgate points to one of many closer parallels, especially in the use of an Ablative, in Cic. *Verr. Act.* I. 4. 10, *istius uitam tot uitis flagitiisque conuictam*.

2. 'On *quanto maximo* (p. 101) Snakenburg's note runs: *quanto maximo*] Sic supra Curt. IV. 13. 36; u. etiam Caes. *B.G.* V. 28. Here Davies (cited by Oudendorp *ad loc.*) adds nothing beyond a reference to Livy XLIV. 27. 12 [*v. inf.*]. But in Curt. IV. 8. 10 *maxime* has strong MS. support, and is adopted by Vogel, the Teubner editor. The upshot is that Curtius, like Livy, used both forms. Snak. and Davies do no more than show that the construction with the Adjective is not wrong. Freinsh. and Acid. contribute nothing but unsupported dogmatism.'—W. B. A. It appears further that when Curtius used the Adverb, he did not feel, as Livy seems to have felt, constrained to put it immediately before the *potuit*.

3. (Agreement of *maximus*). Further examples of type (a) will be found in 22. 6. 6; 24. 21. 4; 27. 41. 9; 36. 44. 4; and 42. 15. 1, if with Gronov we regard *eximia* of Vindobon. as a corruption of *maxima*. The examples of type (b) may be subdivided into (b) those from 23. 16. 12; 24. 35. 5; 27. 43. 12; 28. 1. 6, with others in 28. 36. 2 and 44. 27. 12, in which the noun, though not preceding the verb *possum*, is thrown closely together with it by the balance of

the clauses; and (c) those in 10. 29. 9; 24. 35. 5 (Madvig), with others in 27. 49. 1 (*quanto maximo poterat ictu adigebat*), 28. 8. 2 and 42. 7. 6, in which the noun lies between the two verbs and cannot be clearly attached to one more than to the other. In one example only, so far as we have found, is the noun clearly detached from the *possum* clause: 37. 59. 1 (*dis immortalibus quantus maximus poterat habitus est honos*).

4. So in all the passages in (b) and (c) above.

5. 'Gronov's instinct seems to coincide in a most interesting way with these conclusions. He differs only by reading *maximae* in 24. 35. 5; in 21. 41. 4 he falls in with your principle by reading *quanta maxima celeritate potui*. On 9. 10. 10 Luterbacher observes that in the later books Livy shows a preference for the adjective.'—W. B. A. Luterbacher's observation is clearly just.

C. F. W.

R. S. C.

ON TWO PASSAGES IN THE *PHAEDO*.

84 B. ζῆν τε οἶεται οὕτω δεῖν . . . καὶ . . . ἀφικομένη ἀπάλλαττεσθαι. Surprise has been expressed at this nominative after οἶεται δεῖν. Cf. *Magna Moralia* II. xi. 31, οὐκ οἶονται δεῖν αὐτοὶ φιλεῖν ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνδεεστέρων οἶονται δεῖν αὐτοὶ φιλεῖσθαι. Herodian *Hist.* I. x. 4, ὥςθ' ἔδειν μέγα τι δράσας κατορθῶσαι. Isocrates ix. 30, οὐχ ἡγήσατο δεῖν χυρίον ὄχυρὸν καταλαβὼν καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ καταστήσας περιδεῖν. . . . Either such phrases were so common that οἶμαι δεῖν came to be thought of as a single word, in which δεῖν did not count, or else this use comes from adding δεῖν superfluously to a primitive use of οἶμαι with an infinitive. It is of course common enough to say οἶμαι φιλεῖν in good Attic for 'I think fit to love.' I should prefer the latter hypothesis myself: οἶμαι is properly to 'carry' or 'bear'; so οἶμαι φιλεῖν is 'I propose to love,' and then δεῖν was added, especially when οἶμαι had come to mean 'I think.' There is a good instance of the primitive use of οἶω in *Odys.* xix. 312, ὧδ' ἀνὰ θυμὸν οἶεται: surely this is simply 'it is borne in upon my mind,' '*je suis porté à croire*.' Anyhow οἶμαι or ἡγοῦμαι δεῖν may be followed by a nominative and infinitive.

95 B. τὸν λόγον τὸν μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι. Naturally ἔσεσθαι has been found very unsatisfactory; I think it is the mutilated remnant of ῥηθήσεσθαι, for μέλλω and ῥηθήσεσθαι often go together. See 88 C, *Politicus* 295 B, *Epist.* 343 C, Dem. xxv. 1, lxvi. 34, Polybius I. xiii. 9.

ARTHUR PLATT.

A METRICAL POINT IN LVCRETIVS.

IT seems to have been assumed that Lucretius elides final *s* promiscuously, as Ennius does, at any part of the line. The following statement of facts will show that the truth is very different: I take all cases where the reading appears certain. (1) He has twenty-eight such elisions at the end of the fifth foot, including the emended ii. 623, 975, 986, v. 1410; (2) ten at the weak caesura of the fifth foot, including the emended iii. 198, 1016, v. 949, 1106. But except in these two positions the elision is quite rare and exceptional. I will begin the exceptions by giving (3) a peculiar group: ii. 5, *omni' sit*. 458, *omnibu' sunt* (Lamb.), 1079, *aliquoiu' siet* (Gronov.), iv. 493, *coloribu' sint*, 1152, *corpore' sunt*, 1268, *opu' sunt*, v. 456, *minoribu' sunt*, 1445, *priu' sunt*; all these are from the first four feet, but evidently to Lucretius a combination like *opu' sunt* is very different from, say, *opu' fit*. Indeed, I take it that *opusit* was to him just one word like *necessesit*; the following *s* in *sit* and *sunt* helps, perhaps, and so the solitary instance in Catullus is before *s*; at any rate, this group is obviously exceptional. There remain (4) only two elisions at the end of the fourth foot, iv. 1035 and the emended vi. 972; two at the end of the second foot, *immutabili'* in i. 591, and *immortalibu'* in v. 53, both due to correctors and both words of a form which is rare at the opening of a line; one in weak fourth caesura, iii. 905; one at end of first foot, i. 978. You will hardly believe me, but those are all.

Evidently these facts must be carefully considered by emenders of the poet. Munro's *moenibu'* in the first foot of iv. 82 introduces an elision almost unique for him, for no one, I suppose, believes in *sensibu' sedatum* at ii. 462, any more than in Purmann's *molliu' saecula* at v. 1064. Further doubt is thrown upon the already doubtful or worse than doubtful proposals of *nemu' subsistens* at ii. 359, *nimi' miraculorum* at iv. 594, *claru' citat* at v. 947, *subu' sic* at v. 970, *lapi' cumque* at vi. 550; and I know of many more, but have not been careful to collect such errors. But one choice specimen is worth quoting, because it illustrates another point. Lachmann at iv. 862 proposes, Munro and Giussani accept, the horrible reading '*ex animalibu'*'. <Quae> *quia sunt* . . . Even Ennius hardly allows this elision before a stop, Lucretius never: the curtailed word is always closely connected with the next. Naturally, since such a license is much milder when the words are run together, just as in English we have '*i'* faith,' etc., but could not have *i'* before any kind of pause.

The elision is especially common in words ending with the syllable *-bus*: no less than twenty-four out of the twenty-eight in my first class come under this head. Probably Lucretius used the elision in general more freely than appears from the figures here given, for emendation is required in thirteen of the fifty-two, but the proportions of the four classes may be presumed to have been much the same in his MS.: at least, I can see no reason why corruption should be less rife in the fifth foot of the line than elsewhere. It may be said that three out of six in my fourth class have been corrupted, but the numbers involved are there much too small to exclude accident. Lucilius approximates somewhat to Lucretius in his usage.

ARTHUR PLATT.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

American Journal of Philology. XXXVIII. 4. 1917.

W. M. Lindsay, *The St. Gall Glossary*. Its contents are analyzed with the object of determining its sources—Placidus, pseudo-Placidus, Festus, Isidore, etc. A. L. Frothingham, *Vediovis, the Volcanic God: a Reconstruction*. The cult of Vediovis was centred at Alba in a volcanic region. The goat which we find mentioned in connexion with his statue on the Capitol points to the under-world. The *fulmen Veiovis* is the subterranean lightning of volcanic eruptions. B. L. Gildersleeve, *An Oxford Scholar*. An account of Ingram Bywater's life and personality, based on Dr. W. W. Jackson's Life. W. Sherwood Fox, *Greek Inscriptions in the Royal Ontario Museum* (concluded). Transcription and comments.

Berliner philologische Wochenschrift. 1917-1918.

Sept. 15. A. Siegmund, *De Senecae consolationibus*. Pars III (Hosius). M. Schamberger, *De declamationum Romanarum argumentis observationes selectae* (Ammon). K. Hauser, *Grammatik der griechischen Inschriften Lykiens* (Hiller von Gaertringen). E. v. Stern, *Volkskraft und Staatsmacht im Altertum* (Lenschau). B. Moritz, *Der Sinaikult in heidnischer Zeit* (Thomsen). O. Crusius, *Der griechische Gedanke im Zeitalter der Freiheitskriege* (J. Ziehen). A. W. de Groot, *Eine neue Methode der Klauselforschung*. 'Man solle die Klauselnzahlen nicht in ihrem absoluten Wert, sondern nur im Vergleich mit dem Satzrhythmus beurteilen.'

Sept. 22. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. Part XI. and XII. ed. by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt (Pfeiffer). K. Meister, *Lateinisch griechische Eigennamen*. Heft 1 (Liechtenhan). I. Ch. Thallon, *Readings in Greek history* (Lenschau). The translations are inaccurate. O. Schroeder, *Allerneueste Metrik*. Von Wilamowitz's view that the lesser Asclepiad is composed of a choriamb and a glyconic is confirmed by the Oxyrhynchus Alcaeus (1234 fr. 2), e.g. $\phi\iota\tau\tau\alpha\kappa\tilde{\omega}\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ |\ \delta\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\tilde{\upsilon}\delta\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\eta\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$. Th. Stangl, *Nichtdeklinerter Inf. Fut. Aktiv: zu Curtius IX. 1, 2*. Oelenheinz, *Eine unbekannte Cäsarstelle*. In a correspondence between two German Pastors in 1651, preserved at Schweinfurt, a quotation is made from Caesar B.G. 4. 18 on the authority of Didacus Nomesseius which differs from the traditional text and makes mention of a German god Lollus.

Sept. 29. E. Klostermann, *Späte Vergeltung. Aus der Geschichte der Theodicee* (Bock). A. von Domaszewski, *Die Geographie bei den Scriptoribus historiae Augustae* (Hohl). Derselbe, *Die Daten der Scriptoribus historiae Augustae von Severus Alexander bis Carus* (Hohl). E. Pokorny, *Studien zur griechischen Geschichte im sechsten und fünften Jahrzehnt des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Lenschau). P. Barth, *Die Geschichte der Erziehung in soziologischer und geistesgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung*. 2. A. (J. Ziehen). A. Dyroff, *Zu Herakleitos*. W. Bannier, *Zu attischen Inschriften*. VIII.

Oct. 6. *Griechische Texte aus Agypten*, hrsg. u. erkl. von P. M. Meyer. I. II. (Zucker). H. Kramer, *Quid valeat ὁμόνοια in literis Graecis* (Nestle). J. Wackernagel, *Neue oskische Inschriften aus Messana*. J. Sieveking, *Die Orientierung der Ara Pacis Augustae*. O. Keller, *Zu Varro rer. rust.* II 1. For *rotas* would read *rupicapras*: B. A. Müller, *Die Hamburger Antikensammlung Reimers*.

Oct. 13. E. Michon, *Un Décret du dème de Cholargos relatif aux Thesmophories* (L. Ziehen). K. Deissner, *Paulus und Seneca* (Posselt). St. Witkowski, *Zu einem cuböischen Epigramm*. IG. xii. 9 No. 287. The epigram should be read ἐνθάδε Φίλων κείται. τὸν δὲ κατὰ γαῖ' ἐκάλυσθεν | ναύτιλον. δ (=ὁς) ψυχῇ κ.τ.λ. G. Gardikas, *Lexikographische Bemerkungen*. K. Scherling, *Ein Plautuszitat aus Rheinzabern?* thinks that an inscribed potsherd found here (CIL. xiii. 3. 10012. 24, p. 459), and hitherto read as *Te dum o digna* or *Tedumo digna* should be read as *Ted amo Digna* and takes the first two words to be a quotation from *Casina* 232. O. Keller, *Zu Caelius (Apicius) de re coquinaria VI, c. 2 § 215*.

Oct. 20. J. Kohn, *Führende Denker* (Nestle). E. Löfstedt, *Arnobiana* (Baehrens). Adh. d'Alès, *L'édit de Calliste* (Preuschen). J. Sieveking, *Die Terrakotten der Sammlung Loeb*. II (Pagenstecher). A. Kurfess, *Zu Caesar*, B. G. V 56, 2 would punctuate, 'concilium indicit—hoc more Gallorum est initium belli—; quo lege communi, etc.'

Oct. 27. *L. Junii Moderati Columellae opera quae exstant recens.* V. Lundström II. (Becher). W. H. Roscher, *Die Zahl 50 in Mythos, Kultus, Epos und Taktik der Hellenen und anderer Völker* (Nestle). Fr. von den Velden, *Neue Wege zur Ursprache der Alten Welt* (Hermann). J. Tolkiehn, *Bemerkungen zu den Fragmenten römischer Schriftsteller*. II. W. Bannier, *Zu attischen Inschriften*. IX. W. Weinberger, 'ΟΞΥΡΥΧΟΣ. Oelenheinz, *Zum Namen Cicero*. Attempts to connect the name Cicero with the sorceress Circe, and thinks that his view is supported by the fact that Cicero was an augur.

Nov. 3. *M. Tulli Ciceronis Scripta quae manserunt omnia*. Orationem fasc. 21-27. 29 rec. A. Klotz et F. Schöll (Busche). I. K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana* (Anthes). *Sammlung des Herrn Joh. Horsky in Wien*. Antike Münzen, Griechen, Römer, Byzantiner (Anthes). H. F. Müller, *Kritisches und Exegetisches zu Plotinos*. V. B. A. Müller, *Der Artikel ANTIQVITEZ in den Scaligerana secunda von 1667*. I.

Nov. 10. *M. Tulli Ciceronis Scripta quae manserunt omnia*. Orat. fasc. 21-27. 29; ed. min. fasc. 27 rec. A. Klotz et F. Schöll (Busche). II. E. Berger, *Die Wachsmalerei des Apelles und seiner Zeit* (Herrmann). W. Unverzagt, *Die Keramik des Kastells Alzei* (Anthes). B. A. Müller, *Der Artikel ANTIQVITEZ in den Scaligerana secunda von 1667*. II.

Nov. 17. F. Heerdegen, *De vocum sponte et ultro apud vetustiores scriptores Latinos vi atque usu commentationis semasiologiae pars prior* 1914, pars altera 1916 (Köhm). J. Kerkai, *Quomodo Horatius Lucili vestigia presserit?* (Röhl). M. H. Boehm, *Der Sinn der humanistischen Bildung* (Cauer). W. Bannier, *Zu griechischen Inschriften*. I.

Nov. 24. K. Manitius, *Des Claudius Ptolemaeus Handbuch der Astronomie*. I. II. (Tittel). C. C. Clinton, *The technique of continuous action in Roman comedy* (Klotz). Praised. M. Henschel, *Zur Sprachgeographie Südwestgalliens* (Philipp). V. Gardthausen, *Studien zu Ammianus Marcellinus*. I. On the older manuscripts.

Dec. 1. G. Wolterstorff, *Zwei alte Odysseuslieder in der Ilias* (Eberhard). *Archimedis opera omnia cum commentariis Eutocii iterum ed.* J. L. Heiberg (Tittel). J. Odenthal, *De formarum faxo faxim similium in enuntiatis secundariis conditionalibus positarum usu Plautino* (Klotz). E. Cocchia, *Romanzo e Realtà nella vita e nell' attività letteraria di Lucio Apuleio* (Werner). M. C. P. Schmidt, *Kulturhistorische Beiträge zur Kenntnis des griechischen und römischen Altertums*. 1. Heft: *Zur Entstehung und Terminologie der elementaren Mathematik*. 2. A. (Tittel). Derselbe, *Altphilologische Beiträge*. 2. Heft: *Terminologische Studien*. 2. A. (Tittel). O. Rossbach, *Hesiods*

Weltbild und zu seinen neuen Bruchstücken. W. Schmid, *Zu Lykophron Alexandra* 794. V. Gardthausen, *Studien zu Ammianus Marcellinus*. II. The younger MSS.

Dec. 8. F. Löwy-Cleve, *Die Philosophie des Anaxagoras* (H. F. Müller). *Heronis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt omnia*. Vol. V.: *Heronis quae feruntur stereometrica et de mensuris* ed. J. L. Heiberg (Tittel). C. Morawski, *De scriptoribus latinis novae observationes* (Plautus—Livius—Ovidius—Apuleius) (Klotz). G. Geissler, *Ad descriptionum historiam symbola* (Tolkiehn). Kopp, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*. 9. A. (K. Fr. W. Schmidt). A. Walde, *Über älteste sprachliche Beziehungen zwischen Kelten und Italikern* (Brugmann). R. Berndt, *Zum altsprachlichen Unterricht*. W. Schmid, *Die Datierung der gefälschten Urkunden in der Kranzrede des Demosthenes*. These forgeries come from Asia, and Oxyrhynchus papyrus 1377 is held to prove that they are as early as the first century B.C. G. Helmreich, *Zu Celsus*. W. Soltau, *Julius Capitolinus*.

Dec. 15. D. Einhorn, *Xenophanes* (H. F. Müller). C. Brakman, *Miscella tertia* (Baehrens). H. G. Ringeling, *Pragmatismus in Edward Gibbons Geschichte vom Verfall und Untergang des Römischen Reiches* (Achelis). O. Weinreich, *Triskaidekadische Studien* (Boll). A. Springer, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*. I. *Das Altertum*. 10. A. Nach A. Michaelis bearb. von P. Wolters (Sauer). K. Woermann, *Geschichte der Kunst aller Zeiten und Völker*. 2. A. I. (Sauer). E. Krüger, *Die bisherigen Ergebnisse der Trierer Kaiserpalastausgrabung* (Anthes). J. H. Lipsius, *Kratippos*. A criticism of Kalinka's and Walker's views.

Dec. 22. M. Dessoir und P. Menzer, *Philosophisches Lesebuch*. 4. A. (R. Graeber). H. Steuding, *Edelsteine griechischen Schrifttums* (Becher). H. Brinkmann, *Anonyme Fragmente römischer Historiker bei Livius* (Rossbach). W. Schmid, *Flavia Solva* (Anthes). P. Mestwerdt, *Die Anfänge des Erasmus: Humanismus und 'devotio moderna'*. Mit einer Lebensskizze von C. H. Becker hrsg. von H. von Schubert (Achelis). W. Fox, *Zu Demosthenes' Kranzrede* § 12 ff. II. M. Wallies, *Aristotelea*.

Dec. 29. K. Gatzert, *De Nova comoedia quaestiones onomatologicae* (Poland). K. Mras, *Die Personennamen in Lucians Hetärengesprächen* (Poland). H. B. Vroom, *De Commodiani metro et syntaxi Annotationes* (Tolkiehn). H. Sitte, F. v. Duhn, K. Schumacher, *Der Germanensarkophag Ludovisi im Römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseum in Mainz* (Anthes). Chr. Johnen, *Kurzgefaszte Geschichte der Stenographie* (Mentz). E. H. Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen* (Lehmann). V. Gardthausen, *Studien zu Ammianus Marcellinus*. K. E. Illing, *Inschriften aus Histria*. Greek and Roman inscriptions found in 1917 at Caranasuff, north of Constanza.

Jan. 5. J. Basson, *De Cephala et Planude syllogisque minoribus* (Klotz). G. Wolff, *Die geographischen Voraussetzungen der Chattenfeldzüge des Germanicus* (Anthes). M. Radin, *The Jews among the Greeks and Romans* (Liebenam). Severely criticized. E. Drerup, *Die Griechen von heute* (Poland). Marsilius Ficinus, *Über die Liebe oder Platons Gastmahl*, übersetzt von K. P. Hasse (B. A. Müller). H. F. Müller, *Kritisches und Exegetisches zu Plotinos*. VI. *On Enn.* vi. 1.

Jan. 19. O. Apelt, *Platons Staat*. 4. A. (Becher). M. Jahn, *Die Bewaffnung der Germanen in der älteren Eisenzeit* (Anthes). F. Ruess, *Ausführungen zum Tironischen Schriftwesen* (Mentz). A. Kunze, *Zu Sallust C.* 59. 3. P. Lehmann, *Neues von Franciscus Modius*.

Jan. 26. A. Heusler, *Deutscher und antiker Vers. Der falsche Spondeus und angrenzende Fragen* (Pfeiffer). *Vocabularium iurisprudentiae Romanae*. Tom. V. fasc. II. ed. B. Kübler (Klotz). VIII. *Bericht der Römisch-germanischen Kommission des kais. Archäol. Instituts 1913-1915* (Anthes). Mitteilungen: W. Bannier, *Zu IG II* 140.

Feb. 2. A. Kolle, *Titänen und Philosophen nach Diogenes Laertius* (Von der Mühl). F. Jäger, *Rhetorische Beiträge zu Rutilius Claudius Namatianus* (Helm). B. Raabe, *De genetivo Latino capita tria* (Hermann). A. v. Mess, *Caesar* (Quaatz). W. Bannier, *Zu IG II* 140. II.

Classical Philology. XIII. 1. 1918.

W. M. Lindsay, *Bird-Names in Latin Glossaries* (with notes by D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson). A specimen attempt towards the construction of a Dictionary of Latin Glosses, based on the Philoxenus, 'Abolita,' and 'Abstrusa' collections, with comments on the origin and identification of the names of birds included therein. Ivan M. Linforth, *οἱ ἀθανατίζοντες* (Herodotus IV. 93-96). Examination of the significance of the phrases *οἱ ἀθανατίζοντες* and *οἱ ἀπαθανατίζοντες* applied to the Getae. The passages reviewed show that *ἀθανατίζειν* is either (1) transitive 'deify,' or (2) intransitive 'act the part of a deity,' *ἀπαθανατίζειν* being only (1). The phrase *οἱ ἀθ.* is a nickname of the Getae (with whose stiff monotheism the Greeks had no sympathy), originally applied to the Pythagoreans, the Getae's deified Zamolxis having been, according to the legend, a slave of Pythagoras. E. T. Merrill, *Some Remarks on Cases of Treason in the Roman Commonwealth*. To *perduellio*, the earliest word for 'treason,' was added the phrase *maiestatem p. Romani imminuere*, which was preferable as conveying no sense of 'warfare.' The general meaning of the word is observable in the proceedings against Horatius (Livy I. 26); but the process is of no great antiquity. Another method of dealing with supposed traitors was the *senatus consultum ultimum*, the formula in which was not fixed even as early as the Gracchi. Cicero at the time of the Catilinarian conspiracy attempted to make the principle of this *consultum* an integral part of the constitution; but the attempt was a disastrous failure. J. A. Scott, *Non-Odyssean Words found in the Iliad*. Statistics and classified lists. The practical conclusion is that 'nothing in Homer should be rejected because it is used rarely or but once; even the absence of a word or construction is by itself no proof that the word or construction was unknown or out of favour.' A. F. Bräunlich, *The Confusion of the Indirect Question and the Relative Clause in Latin*. A collection of over forty passages in which such confusion is probable or possible, made in the hope that it 'might have some influence towards establishing a more conservative attitude towards our Latin texts.' C. D. Buck, *Studies in Greek Noun-Formation* (continued). On the words with genitive in *-ιτος, -κτος, -πος*.

Classical Weekly (New York). 1917.

May 14. C. H. Moore, *The Religious Thought of the Greeks* (W. S. Fox). The aim of these ten lectures was 'to present within a moderate compass an historical account of the progress of Greek religions through something over a thousand years. No attempt has been made . . . to deal with pre-Hellenic origins . . . The lectures deal with the higher ranges of Greek thought, and at times have much to do with philosophy and theology.' A. D. F. Hamlin, *A History of Ornament, Ancient and Mediaeval* (J. G. Winter). 'A thoroughly scholarly work, which will doubtless be recognized as authoritative for many years to come. . . . Especially gratifying is the frank appreciation of the contributions of the Roman genius.'

May 21. B. B. Rogers, *The Clouds of Aristophanes* (M. W. Humphries). The reviewer disagrees with the author's view that the revised play was not intended for performance. 'The commentary excellently elucidates allusions to people and events.'

Oct. 15. W. S. Fox, *Greek and Roman Mythology* (D. M. Robinson). This is the first of a series of thirteen volumes on the 'Mythology of all Races.' 'The author has done a difficult task systematically and exceedingly well.' B. C. Rider, *The Greek House* (T. L. Shear). The book does not throw new light on the subject, but is useful in putting together much information, some of which is not easily accessible.

Oct. 22. Lane Cooper, *A Concordance to the Works of Horace* (C. K.). Superior to any other index to Horace. For a few words references only are given; for the

rest the text is given, and fully enough to illustrate the use of the word. The arrangement and printing are excellent. Price \$7. Published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington. J. B. Edwards, *The Demesman in Attic Life* (G. W. Botsford). 'Although readers could wish for a more complete, mature and constructive treatment, they will certainly find the material gathered from Greek literature both interesting and valuable.' M. J. Byrne, *Prolegomena to an Edition of the works of Ausonius* (J. C. Rolfe). 'This book comprises a Life of Ausonius, chapters on his Friends and Correspondence, his Works, the History of the Text, and Metre and Prosody.' There is 'a very complete Bibliography.'

Oct. 29. C. W. Mendell, *Latin Sentence Connection* (H. C. Nutting). 'The psychological background does seem somewhat irrelevant and not clearly thought out; and the emphasis placed on such factors as repetition is thoroughly misleading; the real merit of the work lies in the care expended upon the large mass of material examined, and in the thoughtful observations upon the (variously defined) types of sentence relation found.'

Nov. 12. E. S. Bouchier, *Syria as a Roman Province* (R. Van D. Magoffin). This book 'will certainly increase the author's reputation.'

Nov. 19. Professor Lane Cooper contributes an interesting paper on a course entitled 'English Translations of Greek and Latin Classics' which he has given for some years at Cornell University.

Dec. 10. Prof. Tenny Frank contributes a paper on 'The Economic Interpretation of Roman History.'

Dec. 17. H. Weir Smyth, *A Greek Grammar for Schools and Colleges* (C. F. Smith). A book for teachers rather than students . . . 'but the good student when he looks for explanations will find them to an extent almost unbelievable in a work of 500 pages.'

1918. Jan. 14. René Dussaud, *Les civilisations préhelléniques dans le bassin de la Mer Égée*. Second edition (T. L. Shear). 'On the whole, the work is to be recommended strongly as an interesting, well written, rather popular review of the entire subject.'

Mnemosyne. XLV. 4.

W. Vollgraff describes a wooden tablet recently found in Friesland, recording the purchase of a cow by a merchant from a native with names of Roman soldiers as witnesses. V. gives reasons for dating the tablet A.D. 116. J. J. Hartman on Aristophanes, *Pax* 700-3: ἀπέθανεν (sc. Κρατῖνος) ὅθ' οἱ Λάκωνες ἐνέβαλον . . . ὕρακιάσας· οὐ γὰρ ἐξηνέσχετο ἰδὼν πίθον καταγνύμενον οἶνον πλέων, thinks (with Cobet) that the words οἱ Λ. ἐνέβαλον refer to a scene in a recent comedy (possibly Plato's *Lacones*) in which the stage was invaded by tipsy revellers. Cratinus, however, is not introduced (as Cobet thought) because he died the same year as the said comedy appeared; on the contrary, his presence in the audience added point to the joke at the expense of his love for liquor. A. R. Van der Loeff discusses the Eleusinian formula ἐνήστευσα, ἔπιον τὸν κυκεῶνα, ἔλαβον ἐκ κίστης, ἐργασάμενος ἀπεθέμην εἰς κάλαθον καὶ ἐκ καλάθου εἰς κίστην. He would understand ἔριον as the unexpressed object of the last three verbs, since Epiphanius speaks of ἐρέα ἐχειργασμένη among the Eleusinian symbols. P. H. Damsté, *Ad S. Aurelium Victorem*, contributes critical notes on the *Liber de Origine Gentis Romanae*. J. J. Hartman has notes on Plato, *Republic*. J. Van Wageningen, *Seneca and Juvenal*, infers from a comparison of Juvenal, *Sat.* VI., and St. Jerome, *Adv. Iouianum* 313 c.—320 c., that the poet derived his material from Seneca's lost work *De Matrimonio*. J. C. Naber, continuing his studies in Roman Law, deals with 'Publica Determinationis Monumenta.' J. J. Hartman argues for explaining Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 3. ἰκτηρίους κλάδοισιν ἐξεστεμμένοι 'qui

cum ramis vestris coronam effecistis,' *corona* being a ring outside which the person supplicated must not step till he has heard the prayer. Cf. *Eur. Suppl.* 20 sqq., esp. 36 sqq. M. Boas, *De Catonianis Librariorum Memoriae duabus*, illustrates the tendency shown by scribes to insert unconsciously in the work which they are transcribing reminiscences of other authors with which they are familiar. J. J. Hartman on *Hor. Od.* III. 4, 2 supports the proposal of Polenar to emend 'tibia . . . longum . . . melos' to 'tibia . . . longa . . . melos.' For *tibia longa* cf. Rich. *Dict. Ant.* sub uoc.

Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica. XLVI. I. 1918.

V. Moricca, *The Phoenissae of Seneca* (concluded). Deals with the sources of the play, emphasizing Seneca's debt to the *Oedipus Coloneus* and *Oedipus Rex* of Sophocles. C. Marchesi, *The Second and Third Books of the Ars Amatoria*. Examines the structure and sources of *Ars Amatoria* II. and III. R. Sabbadini, *A Quotation from Ennius in Cicero Brutus*. Attempts to rearrange the lines of Ennius quoted in *Brutus* 58-9 and also in *A. Gellius* XII. 2. The words 'flos delibatus populi suadaeque medulla' cannot form a single line. The 'que' is lacking in the MSS., the Florentine MS. giving 'suadat medulla,' the MSS. of *Gellius* 'suada medulla' or 'populis vada medulla.' This suggests 'suadai medulla' as the true reading, which cannot be combined in one line with the preceding words. A. Beltrami, *Emendations of Seneca*, Ep. II. 2. 14. For 'non damnatur latro, cum occidit' proposes 'non damnat latro, cum occidit,' the sense being that the accidents of fortune cannot affect the moral value of the virtuous life: the assassin may kill but cannot condemn his victim. For 'an sapienti opera rei p. danda sit' where the best MSS. have 'an sapientiora opera perdenda sint' proposes 'an sapienti ori opera perdenda sit' which is supported by the words used of Cato in § 13 'vociferatus est et misit irritas voces.' D. Bassi, *On a Review*. A reply to a review by Terzaghi of the first volume of the *Collectio Tertia* of *Herculaneum papyri*. E. Stampini, *Peculiarities in the Inscription of Allia Potestas*. (a) The line 'haec duo dum vixit iuuenes ita rexit amantes' seems to refer to a *ménage à trois*, an explanation supported by *C.I.L.* VI. 21200 'si nomen quaeris sum Lesbia, si duo amantes, Anchialus dulcis cum suave homini Spurio.' (b) 'infamis' in the sense of 'obscure' or 'unknown' is unique and unknown in juristic Latin. F. Calonghi, *Tibulliana I.* gives the results of a collation of *Codex V.* (*Vatic.* 3270), correcting some inaccuracies in the apparatus criticus of Baehrens. R. Sabbadini, *Pompeian Defixiones*. Discusses a 'defixio' from Pompeii (published in *Notizie degli Scavi* XIII. pp. 304-6, 1916) which belongs apparently to the second century B.C. and contains some peculiarities of spelling, e.g. the lack of the double consonant in 'capilu,' 'ilai,' 'sucedas,' 'posit,' the apocope of 'm' in 'capilu,' 'cerebru,' 'quiqua,' also the new verb 'diffigo,' etc. D. Bassi, *On a New Edition of the Agricola of Tacitus*. A long critical review of an edition by Annibaldi (in the *Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum Paravianum*) which is founded mainly on the new *Codex Jesinus* discovered by the editor in 1902-3.

Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie. 1917.

Oct. 29 (Double number). F. Schwenn, *Die Menschenopfer bei den Griechen und Römern* (Nestle). Shows wide knowledge and a sure sense of method. W. Headlam, *Agamemnon with verse translation, introduction, and notes*. Ed. by A. C. Pearson (Süsskand). The edition departs too far from the recorded text, and is too dependent on traditional interpretations. Th. Meyer-Steineg, *Das medizinische System der Methodiker; eine Vorstudie zum Caelius Aurelianus* (Fuchs). Clear, with due emphasis on essentials.

Nov. 12. C. H. Johl, *Die Weberstühle der Griechen und Römer* (Blümner). R. Asmus, *Der Alkibiades Kommentar des Iamblichos als Hauptquelle für Kaiser Julian* (Schemmel).

THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

JULY—OCTOBER, 1918.

RESTORATIONS AND EMENDATIONS IN LIVY VI.—X.

(Cf. *Classical Quarterly* IV. (1910), p. 267; V. p. 1.)

Concluded.

BOOK X.

X. 13. 10, with X. 33. 3. (Fabius Maximus is protesting against his own re-election as consul in defiance of the law.)

Et ille quidem in recusando perstabat: quid ergo attineret leges ferri rogitans quibus per eosdem, qui tulissent, fraus fieret; iam regi leges non regere.

So *M*²*TDLA*. But *M* has *rositans* or *rofitans* instead of *rogitans*, and *O* *cogitans*; while *PFUp* betray the secret by putting *rogitans* after *quibus* (see above on 7. 12. 5). The participle is quite superfluous (since the beginning of *Or. Obl.* is clearly marked by the *ergo* and the subjunctive *attineret*), and has come in from the note of a schoolmaster whose syntax was excellent but whose handwriting (of the letters *rog-*) was less exemplary. The same plaster applied by the same or a similar practitioner burdens a perfectly sound text in 10. 33. 3, where Duker followed the wise scribe of *Lov.* 4 in cutting it off; in *M* the faithful Leo had put it in, not without a small preceding siglum which it had worn in the margin, but which Leo's supervisor or someone else has erased from its place, leaving a small blank before the word. Examples of such sigla in front of intrusions will be found in our note on 1. 43. 11 and *Class. Quart.* IV. (1910) p. 270; see above p. 12 (on 8. 8. 3). And another follows in 10. 33. 4, where a superfluous *agunt*, which Madvig's instinct rightly rejected, is given by Leo in *M* as *.agunt*; but the siglum was otherwise interpreted by *DL* who give *cogunt*; while *A* honestly reproduces a queer sign which his reader may take as *co-* or *a-* according to taste—a cautious method of dealing with obscurities, of which examples are collected in our note on 1. 7. 5.

Other bits of similar plaster may be observed perhaps at 4. 58. 13 (where *B* reads *rogitantes* as *rigantes*; but where, since the Veronese has *rogitantes* no less than the Nicomacheans, it must be tolerably old); and in 21. 25. 5

where *C* and *M* add *incertum* between *sint* and *an*, which, as Gelenius saw, is wholly superfluous. (See further the *Addenda*, p. 118.)

X. 33. 6. Before leaving this chapter we may note a few lines further on, in § 6, another trace of the same busy person, in the genitive plural, which *PF* give naked in its original shape ('*uigiliumque*') and which *M* writes *uiciumque*, but which *F³Up* and *TDLA* decently correct to *uigilumque*, saving the grammar, but with no profit to the sense, since no *uigiles* whatever have been mentioned save those *stationis primae* which happen to be the two preceding words. The glossographer explains the word *statio* just as in 5. 48. 6, where to *stationibus* the bulk of the MSS. add *uigiliis*, but *O* adds *et uigiliis*, and *D⁴* with the Ed. Princeps and Aldus *uigiliisque*. For other examples of glosses decently veiled by a *-que* or *et* see 5. 51. 3; 6. 4. 9; 8. 13. 6.

X. 21. 14 *fuisse tantum bellum ut nec duce uno nec exercitu geri potuerit MPFU_pOTD³*; to this a second *uno* is added before *exercitu* by *A²*; and before the second *nec* by *DLA* (who place the first *uno* before *duce*); and after *exercitu* by H. J. Mueller. But the text of the best MSS. is perfectly sound; the words *uno* and *geri* are distributed between the pair of coordinate clauses, though in meaning both go with both. This principle of 'Interwoven order' ought to be more familiar to scholars as it has often caused misunderstanding and needless disturbance of texts. No one fails to see through it in such examples as *Aen.* IX. 12,

nunc tempus equos, nunc poscere currus,

though few readers of the *Aeneid* realise perhaps how much Vergil loved the playfulness of the construction. We have already called attention to it in Livy in our note on II. 41. 6 (see further *Class. Rev.* XIV. (1900) p. 357); other examples are

3. 28. 1 *qui tractus castrorum quaeque forma esset.*

3. 38. 1 *neque animis . . . imminutis neque . . . honoris insignibus prodeunt.*

So in 5. 7. 4 (*seditio* and *posset*); 5. 26. 10 (*imperator Romano* and *maturam victoriam dedisset*); 7. 2. 7 (*temere* and *alternis*); 7. 26. 15 (*ea* and *classis*); 9. 28. 4 (*multitudo* and *contulerat*).

X. 30. 9. This passage has been discussed above with 7. 10. 13.

X. 35. 14. In this passage a suggestion of Drakenborch, based merely on his knowledge of Livian usage, is strikingly confirmed by the test of the linear method (see pp. 11 sq. sup.). All the available good MSS. (*MPU_pTDLA*—the reader will know by this time with what reserves we call *Up* 'good') give

di bene uerterent; facerentque quod se dignum quisque ducerent; consulem M. Atilium uel solum, si nemo alius sequatur, iturum aduersus hostes.

Duker saw that the subject which Livy intended for *facerent* was certainly not a crowd of dissentient deities—the only meaning which the text in this shape would allow—but the despondent and discordant soldiers whom the consul is trying to arouse. He accordingly cut out the *q-* after *facerent* as a duplication of the following *q* of *quod*.

But Drakenborch, following the regular usage of these prefatory appeals to heaven,¹ proposed to deal more freely, but also, as we believe, more soundly, with the corruption, by writing

facerent, quod di bene verterent, quod se dignum quisque ducerent.

Now the parenthetic prayer contains just nineteen letters, the normal length of an uncial line; put the words into linear shape and we have

facerent quod
di bene uerterent quod
se dignum quisque duce
etc.

The two lines ending in *-erent quod* made the falling out into the margin—let us call it the excidence—of the first *quod*-clause extremely easy. When they came to be put back, three of them got into the wrong place, but the *quod*, by one or other of several familiar ways [cf. V. (1911), p. 6, and our note on 4. 7. 10], reattached itself to *facerent*, though reduced to the form *q*, i.e. *-que*.

Drakenborch's emendation therefore is strongly commended by linear considerations. The argument is, of course, not impaired at whatever portion of the lines the two homoea $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{facerent quod} \\ \text{uerterent quod} \end{array} \right\}$ happened to stand, since in any case, from the number of the letters between them, the second was bound to come directly below the first.

Just below in § 17 in precisely the same way an uncial line of seventeen letters, *segniter arma capit*, has fallen out altogether in the archetypes of *MPUP* before a following *segniter*. And in the next chapter (36. 2) the words *prius impetus*, excident before the next *prius*, have in the archetype of *PU ρ* been restored in the middle of § 3 after *diuersique*.

X. 36. 9. non uirtus solum consulis sed fors etiam adiuuit.

So *MUP ρ TDA* (and *PL* save that they write $\overline{\text{cos}}$ for *consulis*). So also Plaut. *Capt.* 202

in re mala animo si bono utare, adiunat,

and Caesar (*B. Gall.* 7. 17. 2)

alteri quod nullo studio agebant non multum adiunabant ('were not much good').

¹ E.g. 3. 26. 9 (Cincinnatus) rogatus ut, quod di bene uerterent, togatus mandata senatus audiret; 29. 22. 5 iuberentque, quod di bene uerterent, traicere.

And this use of transitive verbs without an expressed object is, in fact, a favourite idiom with Livy; take e.g. 2. 21. 4 *tanti errores implicant temporum* (scil. *te* or *scriptorem rerum*); or *inuabit* in *Fraef.* 3 ('it will be to the good'); or *enixius ad bellum adiuerunt* ('gave more vigorous help,' 29. 1. 18).

But our good correctors are busy again, and Gruter's *consulem* has supplanted Livy's *consulis*; rather feebly, for it was Rome that fortune meant to help, not merely the brave consul; and so Livy tells us just below (§ 12) *Numen etiam deorum respexisse nomen Romanum uisum*.

X. 43. 13. We choose for the last of these notes a passage whose treatment by eminent hands is typical of the mischief done to serious study by brilliant scholarship tinged with impatience.

In one of the campaigns of the Great Samnite War by the strategy of Papirius Cursor a force of 8,000 Samnites (10. 40. 6) who were marching to relieve Cominium, then besieged by his colleague Carvilius, had been cut off from their own camp at Aquilonia; but meanwhile (c. 43. 8) Cominium had been abandoned by the Samnite forces and surrendered. Learning this, they try to return to their camp near Aquilonia, but finding that place also in the hands of the Romans, they bivouac in the open for the night.

Eo ipso loco temere sub armis strati passim inquietum omne tempus noctis exspectando timendoque lucem egere. Prima luce, incerti quam in partem intenderent iter, repente in fugam consternantur conspecti ab equitibus qui egressos nocte ab oppido [i.e. a Cominio] Samnites persecuti uiderant multitudinem non uallo, non stationibus firmatam. Conspecta et ex muris Aquiloniae ea multitudo erat iamque etiam legionariae cohortes sequebantur [the result being that the force takes to flight in the direction of Bovianum, and reaches it after serious loss].

Surely nothing could be clearer than this. The unlucky Samnites have no time to fortify a camp, and they know that they are in danger of being surrounded but do not know where to turn. Their one desire is to escape without delay; and from whatever quarter an attack is threatened, that is a direction in which escape is cut off. So soon therefore as they are 'sighted' (*conspecti*) by a Roman force, especially a cavalry force, they take to their heels. The Roman infantry at Aquilonia see them too, but cannot overtake them.

This dramatic incident, sketched in Livy's briefest and happiest manner, contented everyone down to Doujat,¹ who wished to alter *conspecti ab* into *conspectis*, substituting the less for the more important side of the incident; for unless the Roman cavalry had sighted the Samnites, the Samnites, like Brer Rabbit, might have 'kept on saying nothing,' but the moment they were discovered run they must. Madvig cuts the knot, and the point, with his lordly knife; *conspecti*, we are told, is an interpolation, which makes nonsense

¹ As well as Drakenborch and later Frigell (*Dissertatio de Livii emendandi ratione*, p. 30).

by anticipating the last clause of the sentence (*viderant multitudinem non uallo, non stationibus firmatam*), but which the (remarkably sensitive) interpolator thought to be necessary in order to explain the *et* which follows *conspecta* in the next sentence. This ingenuity however explains too much and too little. For if *conspetti* were simply equivalent to the clause *viderant . . . firmatam*, an equivalence which Madvig alleges as his main complaint against it, then the *conspecta et* could be perfectly well regarded as referring back merely to that clause—as indeed it can, whether it be or be not true that that clause adds nothing to the *conspetti*.

Now *MPFU^pTDLA*, that is all the good MSS. which exist of this end of the Book, agree in reading *conspetti ab* with no hint of difficulty; and if an interpolator was the author of the participle he must have lived either before the time of Symmachus, or at all events before the uncial text was copied into minuscule. He must further have been an exceedingly good scholar to find exactly the right place for his addition in a tightly packed sentence, being in fact the one and only place where it could be inserted without producing ambiguity and disturbance to the order of events. Such a choice is much more likely to be Livy's than anyone else's.

But were Madvig and Doujat right in supposing that *conspetti* means no more than the *viderant* which follows?

In the first place the point of the *viderant* clause lies not in the main verb but in the phrase which acts as its object. The point of the addition is that the Roman cavalry saw before them not an army but a mere defenceless crowd of soldiers, inviting an attack.

In the second place, and chiefly, the whole trouble has been created by ignoring the peculiar and interesting use of *conspici*, which not merely means 'to be observed,' but, when it is a person or his property that is observed, generally suggests that the person is conscious of the fact. So that we only need to 'declare' that here *conspetti* expresses exactly the meaning which Doujat 'ignorantly' desired, i.e. 'realizing that they were discovered.' Here are a few examples: Sall. *Cat.* 7. 6 Sic quisque hostem ferire, murum ascendere, c o n s p i c i d u m tale facinus facere properabat.

Livy says of Hannibal (XXI. 4. 5) in a famous passage:

Vestitus nihil inter aequales excellens: arma atque equi conspiciantur [i.e. their owner took care to keep them in splendid condition].

XXII. 24. 5 (Fabius has gone to Rome, and his Master of the Horse, Minucius, at once begins to indulge in ostentatious defiance):

Ipsē autem quod minime quis crederet cum hostis propius esset tertiam partem militum frumentatum duabus in castris retentis dimisit; dein castra propius hostem mouit . . . in tumultum hosti conspectum ut intentum sciret esse ad frumentatores si qua uis fieret tutandos.

45. 7. 3. (The defeated Perseus seeks an interview with his conqueror Aemilius Paullus, and comes into the Roman camp, to the great excitement of

the Roman soldiers, who crowd round the visitor so closely that Paullus has to send officers to extricate him. Livy, in his dramatic manner, pauses for a sentence to suggest the thoughts of the soldiers and of Perseus also.)

Perseus caput belli erat nec ipsius tantum patris auique . . . quos sanguine ac genere contingebat fama conspectum eum efficiebat, sed effulgebant [i.e. to their imaginations] Philippus et magnus Alexander . . . [Perseus chooses to come without retinue, accompanied only by his son] nullo suorum alio comite qui socius calamitatis miserabiliorem eum¹ faceret.

This last sentence shows explicitly that Livy was feeling keenly what Perseus felt; he had already suggested it by his choice of the word *conspectum*.

A very clear and closely parallel passage is in 25. 16. 2: 'ad exta sacrificio perpetrato angues duo ex occulto adlapi adedere iocur, conspectique repente ex oculis abierunt.' In fact this example alone would suffice. Our English idiom is precisely similar: in the *Morning Post* of December 17, 1914, there is written: 'Sighted by our patrol, the enemy ships took to flight.'

Further examples will be found, if anyone needs them, in 1. 47. 5 (*conspici*); 2. 5. 5 (*conspectius*); 4. 13. 5 (*conspectus elatusque*), and 28. 2. 3 (*ab hoste conspecti sunt trepidarique repente coeptum*).

Sed haec hactenus. This case alone might be enough to show how much the manuscripts of this Decade have to teach those who will study them with patience. We have done our best to speak with all respect of serious students like Weissenborn and H. J. Mueller, and with much more than respect of great scholars like Gronov and Madvig, whose splendid achievements with far smaller material can never be belittled or forgotten. But to the toiling scribes, who saved for us so great an inheritance, every scholar owes an even deeper debt. To condemn or obliterate their work unjustly is neither wise, nor grateful, nor scholarly, nor even honest to those who will come after.

ADDENDA.

We have once more to thank Professors Postgate and Anderson for valuable criticism.

X. 13. 10 '*quid attineret* as a question in Orat. Obl. is contrary to Livy's consistent practice, which is to use the infinitive; see 37. 15. 2; 45. 19. 2; 2. 41. 6. I had noticed the incongruity in *quid attineret* before I read Weissenborn's note on your passage, which I regard as important corroboration. Unless therefore you are prepared to alter the imperfect, *vogitans* is necessary.'—J. P. P.

This raises an old question on which the evidence is not quite so clear as Dr. Postgate has inferred from texts printed without critical information. We have no doubt that the Infinitive is right in 2. 41. 6 (*quid attinuisse* 'what was the point of granting land?') and in 6. 23. 7 (*quid attinere* 'what is the point of letting Roman power decay?'). Here the Infinitives represent *attinuit* and *attinet* of the Recta.

But in 45. 19. 2 the only MS. (Vindob.) gives *attineret*, and Drak. retains it

¹ Perhaps *eum* would be better, but the *eum* of Vind. may be defended if *faceret* is not oblique but only post-prophetic, 'was bound to make';

cf. the interesting collection of examples of this use by Mr. W. J. Goodrich, *Class. Rev.* XXXI. (1917), p. 83.

against Gronov's alteration to the Infinitive which some editors prefer. This is a passage in which the variation between Present and Imperfect Subjunctives is interesting and has not been yet discussed. We are inclined to follow the theory which one of us has put forward (Livy II. Pitt Press, 1901, p. 187), and interpret the Present Subjunctives as representing Present Indicatives, and the Imperfects as representing Future Indicatives (*habet, cernit, erit, attinebit*). In any case it is foolish to alter the text. In 37. 5. 2 one of the two first-class authorities (Mogunt.) has *attineret*, which may again be quite well taken as representing *attinebit*. Exactly the same question arises in the passage now under discussion; but as there is no variation in the Subjunctive tenses, there is no external factor to incline the decision; either *quid attinet* or *quid attinebit* would make excellent sense. In any case we still think the balance of evidence favours our excision of *rogitans*.

We may add that Weissenborn's note (on 10. 13. 10), to which Dr. Postgate refers, shows his usual confusion of thought. He keeps *rogitans*, but defends *retineret* as if there were no *rogitans* to govern it, alleging that the Subjunctive 'represents a question addressed to the people for them to answer.' As if the Infinitive did not also represent a question addressed to them! No doubt he means that the question in the Infinitive represents a more confident demand than would one in the Subjunctive without *rogitans*; which shows that Weissenborn inwardly regarded *attineret* alone as good Livian Latin. Weissenborn's instinct for Livy's meaning generally deserves respect, though his own powers of thought and expression leave much to be desired. If *rogitans* is kept, the Subjunctive is of course necessary whatever the colour of the question.

X. 36. 9 'On the subject of Livy's intransitive use of transitive verbs a reference should be added to Riemann, *Étude* (ed. of 1879), § 22.'—W. B. A.

'Cf. also *monisse* 5. 55. 1.'—J. P. P.

'This use of *adiuvare* in particular is so frequent in Livy as hardly to need illustration; other cases are 2. 5. 4; 24. 16. 3; 24. 46. 4; 29. 1. 18.'—W. B. A.

X. 43. 13 'I agree about the retention of *conspiciti*; as does Luterbacher, for the sound reason that the subsequent narrative shows that the 8000 men turned to flight long before they were caught, a fate which befel only their rear-guard. And those who object to the seeming repetition must mutilate Caes. B.C. 1. 65. 1 'quos ubi Afranius procul uisos cum Petreio conspexit,' where *uisos* is put in simply to give *procul* something to go with.

'But I am not convinced by the latter part of your note. Are you not reading into a particular verb what is nothing more than a shade of causal meaning which can be suggested by any participle, as in the English example which you quote of the participle *sighted*? In Caes. B.C. 2. 20. 7 ('tum uero omni interclusus itinere, ad Caesarem mittit') would you speak of 'the peculiar and interesting use of *intercludor* to mean *I know that I am cut off*'?'—W. B. A.

This criticism seems to us wise and valuable, and to place the manuscript reading beyond all reach of attack. Yet we think still that the examples we have given of *conspicior* and *conspicetus*, and others we might add of *conspiciuus* (as when Horace writes 'late conspicuum tollere uerticem'), do show there was developed in this particular word an especially self-conscious colour.

C. FLAMSTEAD WALTERS.

R. S. CONWAY.

LONDON,
MANCHESTER, } July, 1918.

‘CADA,’ NOM. PLUR.

MRS. DALL, in her article *A Seventh-Century English Edition of Virgil* (p. 176 *infra*), shows that Virgil glosses taken from marginalia in the same MS. of the poems often preserve something of their original coherence in the two kindred glossaries, Affatim and the Second Amplonian, in spite of all the reshuffling of these two collections. Thus a small group of Virgil items appears in Affatim on p. 491 of Goetz’s apograph (in Vol. IV. of the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*): (no. 2) Carecta, (no. 3) Crateras, etc. The second last of this ‘Virgil cluster’ (as Mrs. Dall calls it) is (C.G.L. IV. 491, 5) Cada: vasa vinaria. It appears also in Ampl. II. (C.G.L. V. 272, 63) Ca[t]da: vas<a> vinaria, and in (the cognate) Ampl. I. (C.G.L. V. 354, 75) Cada: vasa vinaria, and is apparently taken (by all three compilers), ultimately or immediately, from a marginal annotation on *Aen.* 1, 195 ‘uina bonus quae deinde *cadis* onerarat Acestes’; for in the Virgil Glossary printed by Goetz in C.G.L. IV. 427-470 we find (p. 432, no. 24) Cadis: vasis vinariis.

What authority then is there for the heteroclite Nom. Plur.? Absolutely none. The monastery-teacher who annotated this MS. of Virgil, or the monk who collected for glossary purposes its marginalia, or the compiler who recast these ‘glossae collectae’ into dictionary form, laboured under the delusion that *cadis* belonged to a noun ‘cadum.’ That is the simple and obvious explanation.

How ludicrous then to find in the great *Latin Thesaurus* (s.v. Cadus, Vol. III. col. 37, l. 23) ‘*neutr.* . . . *plur.*: cada GLOSS. IV. 491, 5, V. 272, 63. 354, 74’! And how misleading! One can imagine a writer of a Latin Grammar saying to himself: ‘There seems to be some real authority here for a heteroclite plural. I had better put *cadus* in the same paragraph as *locus*.’ There appears indeed almost as little authority in the intervening sentence: ‘*neutr.* cadum CORP. IV. 2637, GLOSS. V. 173, 33. 34. 444, 13,’ in so far as the glossaries are concerned. Just as ‘cada’ was a recasting of *cadis*, so may ‘cadum’ have been of ‘cada’ (or *cadis*), unless it is merely a confusion of the -dus and -dum symbols. Or it may be really Gen. Plur. *cadum*.

Not that the great *Latin Thesaurus* is to be blamed. It professedly takes its glossary information, direct and unaltered, from Goetz (who is not to be blamed either). But, as was said before (C.Q. XI. 200), until all these glossaries, their interrelations and sources, have been investigated, the wheat cannot be separated from the chaff.

I have spoken of the ‘great’ *Latin Thesaurus*; for great it undoubtedly is, so near perfection that one is glad to detect (and remove) any flaw. Even it however does not make special lexicons unnecessary. These will always have a value of their own. Professor Phillimore has given us a lexicon to Propertius. Will not Professor Housman give us a lexicon to Manilius, *lexicographorum in usum*?

W. M. LINDSAY.

SOCRATES, 'QVANTVM MVTATVS AB ILLO.'

THE *Times Literary Supplement* of November 8, 1917, contained, under the title of *Socrates recognitus*, a review of *Plato's Biography of Socrates*, a lecture delivered by Professor A. E. Taylor to the British Academy in the early part of last year. The opening sentence of the review is as follows: 'Next to the problem of the Gospels ranks that of the Platonic dialogues amongst those most vital to the history of the human spirit.' A little further down the reviewer says: 'It is much to the credit of British scholarship—and especially to that of the University of St. Andrews—that it should have attacked these problems with untiring energy, and propounded solutions which, although they run counter to most of the traditional tendencies of historical and philosophical criticism, have not only challenged attention, but are carrying conviction even to unlikely quarters.' And again, at the end of the article, we read this passage: 'It is scarcely to be thought that the ground won by the scholars of St. Andrews will be held without counter-attack; but this is slow to mature, and in the meanwhile such essays as the subject of this notice, with which we may couple the paper recently read to the British Academy by Professor Burnet on the Socratic doctrine of the soul, serve to buttress and consolidate the position.'

At the present time many scholars who might have been expected to make an effective response to the reviewer's call for counter-attacks have no leisure for such work. The aim of this article is to supply their place as far as possible.

Up to the year 1911 it was generally agreed among scholars that two portraits of Socrates have come down to us, together with a caricature and some sporadic references to his doctrine. The two portraits were drawn by Plato and Xenophon, both friends and disciples of Socrates, but one an infinitely more skilled artist than the other; the caricature was given to the world by Aristophanes in the *Clouds*, while Xenophon probably and Plato certainly were still in the nursery; and of the scattered remarks about Socrates by far the most important are those of Aristotle, who was not born until fifteen years after the death of Socrates, but through his residence at Athens had excellent opportunities of learning the content of the Socratic philosophy, treasured in the memory or the note-books of pious friends. Here and there a scholar, notably Schleiermacher early in the nineteenth century, had impugned the value of Xenophon as a trustworthy exponent of Socratic

teaching. Schleiermacher held that Xenophon himself was no philosopher—it does not need much critical acumen to see that—and therefore he was scarcely the man to understand Socrates, nor could Socrates ever have swayed his contemporaries and later ages as he has done had he been nothing more than the mild and garrulous old gentleman depicted by Xenophon. But with the appearance of Zeller's *Philosophie der Griechen* Schleiermacher received his *quietus*, and not much has been heard until recently of successors to him, though in Germany every now and again some one has come forward to deal out hard knocks to Xenophon. On the other hand Plato has also come in for a share of obloquy. Joel (1893—1901) maintained that no testimony but Aristotle's regarding Socrates was of any value—this theory would reduce the amount of our knowledge to a sorry figure; while Döring, also in the last decade of the nineteenth century, declared that Xenophon was the one and only source worth mentioning. But so far as I know these views have not met with wide acceptance.

On the whole then the world had settled down into a comfortable belief first, that Xenophon had considerable personal knowledge of Socrates and had reported what he remembered faithfully, if in a somewhat unexhilarating manner; secondly, that Plato, with a fervent admiration for Socrates, had independently set down his personal recollections, which harmonized very well with those of Xenophon, if allowance were made for the fact that one study of Socrates was produced by a writer of very ordinary literary calibre, the other by a genius with a unique power of description and characterization. Thirdly, it was believed that Plato, in affectionate reverence for his master, had placed in the mouth of Socrates philosophical developments, which grew naturally indeed out of the doctrines that we call Socratic on the authority of Xenophon, but were in reality the work of Plato himself, or at any rate derived by Plato from Pythagorean or non-Socratic sources. Fourthly, Aristotle was thought to be a useful umpire in cases where we found it difficult to reconcile the accounts of Plato and Xenophon, or to distinguish Platonic superstructures from the foundations laid by Socrates.

In 1911 this tranquillity was overwhelmed by the two surprise attacks from St. Andrews. Professor Taylor's book, *Varia Socratica*, preceded Professor Burnet's edition of the *Phaedo* by a short time, and on p. xiv of his Introduction Professor Burnet remarks that, although he cannot accept all Professor Taylor's conclusions, nevertheless he is in substantial agreement with his colleague. The five essays in *Varia Socratica* are a first instalment. Their titles are: *The Impiety of Socrates*, *The Aristotelian Socrates*, *The δισσοὶ λόγοι*, *The Phrontisterion*, and *The words εἶδος, ἰδέα in Pre-Platonic literature*. The Foreword shows that a definite purpose, virtually the same as Professor Burnet's, links the whole set. Since the appearance of these two books Professor Burnet has published his volume *Greek Philosophy, Part I. Thales to Plato* (1914), wherein he seems to look upon his theory as a *chose jugée*, which commends itself *urbi et orbi* without further question. Both Professors have also addressed the

British Academy, Professor Taylor in the discourse above mentioned, and Professor Burnet in one entitled *The Socratic Doctrine of the Soul*, delivered as the Hertz Lecture, 1916. The two writers bring so great a wealth of illustrative learning and command of language to bear upon their thesis that (as a German reviewer has remarked with regard to Professor Taylor) it is only with difficulty and close attention that a reader can shake himself free from the spell cast by their eloquence and enthusiastic convictions.

The main objects are, briefly, to uphold the following points:

1. Plato is the source of all or nearly all statements made by Xenophon and Aristotle concerning Socrates. The three ordinarily recognized authorities are therefore reduced to one, namely Plato. It follows that if Socrates as described by Xenophon or Aristotle appears to teach a simpler and less metaphysical philosophy than the Platonic Socrates, we must take Plato's account as our standard, and explain the deviations from it as best we may. In the case of Xenophon, we may say with Professor Burnet that he was not really very well acquainted with Socrates. He might have been about twenty-five at the time of Socrates' death, and had spent most of his grown-up life in military service away from Athens, including his prolonged absence on the Anabasis expedition. Therefore his conversations of Socrates are not in any great degree due to his personal recollections, but are hashed-up versions of Platonic and pseudo-Platonic discourses made with a view to defending the memory of Socrates. Like most hashes the dish is considerably inferior to the one originally served, and it is worth remark that Xenophon has refrained from telling us anything whatever of the teaching deemed by both the Professors to be most characteristic of the real Socrates. Professor Taylor has an explanation of this omission which we must consider later; apart from this we are driven to suppose that Xenophon's limited intellect shied at reproducing the loftier flights of the Platonic Socrates. With regard to Aristotle, however, we can hardly attribute mental obtuseness to *him*. If any passages in his works have been held to show that the historical Socrates differed from the Socrates of Plato, then we must show that that the accepted interpretation is wrong.

2. Much that is taught by the Platonic Socrates, including the whole Theory of Ideas, the immortality of the soul, mystical views of religion, and the importance of mathematical and physical science, can be traced to Pythagorean, Orphic, and Eleatic sources. All these doctrines accordingly were, in the opinion of our authors, held by the historical Socrates in their entirety, and were taken over by him from Pythagorean, Orphic, or Eleatic teachers.

3. Socrates in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes is, according to Professors Burnet and Taylor, exactly what a comic picture of Socrates, if he were really such as Plato has described him, ought to be. He is a mathematician, a biologist, and a member of an ascetic and mystical religious body, 'a contemptuous rejecter of the tutelary divinities of the city of Athens, and a devotee of *καὶνὰ δαιμόνια* (Taylor, *V.S.* p. 167).

The net result of these onslaughts, if they prove victorious, is that Plato alone has drawn the portrait of Socrates seriously from life. Xenophon has only given us a very poor sketch, chiefly making a feeble copy of the less interesting features in Plato's picture, and pretending that he has produced a likeness from his memory of the original. If, when perplexed whether to trust Plato or Xenophon, we appeal to Aristotle, he is discredited, because he knows nothing but Plato's representation. Finally the caricature in Aristophanes, produced long before Plato's standard portrait, gives the impression that he and Plato drew from one and the same model.

Assuming for a moment that Professor Burnet and Professor Taylor are right, what effect will they produce on our conception of Plato? Well, the great mass of Plato's works will become Boswellian. This is called by the *Times* reviewer of *Thales to Plato*, April 22, 1915, 'a thoughtless complaint.' It may be a complaint, but it seems scarcely fair to call it thoughtless, for except in a few dialogues, Plato will have nothing to say of his own, though Boswell will have to be content with a *proxime accessit* as a biographer.

Plato's work before the beginning of his latest phase, if the theory wins the *consensus gentium*, is to put into vivid dramatic shape everything that can bring Socrates and his mind clearly before the reader, and not the least part of his achievement is his gift for drawing minor characters, thereby throwing Socrates into greater relief. Thrasymachus the blusterer, Polus the rash champion of Gorgias, Apollodorus with his uncontrollable emotion, Cephalus in his beautiful old age—if we call these and a host of others to mind, we realize that when Professor Burnet and Professor Taylor have done their worst, Plato judged by the works of his middle period will still remain one of the mightiest writers of all time. But few of us will, without a pang, deprive him of his pre-eminence also as a thinker in these same works, and I cannot but hope that those critics will be found right—and *pace* the *Times* reviewer they were neither infrequent nor lacking in weight until the catastrophe of 1914 checked their opposition—who pronounce that the Socrates of history did not discourse on all the topics handled by Socrates in the *Republic*, *Phaedrus*, or *Symposium*.¹

It is true that Professor Burnet calls Plato's own contribution to philosophy 'a great enough thing, quite apart from the theory of forms' (as he prefers to call the theory of Ideas) 'expounded in the *Phaedo*,'² and elsewhere. In several of the dialogues which are nowadays generally allowed to belong to Plato's

¹ Some reviews of Burnet, *Phaedo of Plato*: W. E. Waters, *Class. Weekly*, 1912; H. Gillieschewski, *Wochenschr. für klass. Philologie*, 1912; H. Raeder, *Berlin. phil. Wochenschr.*, 1912; M. V. Williams, *Class. Rev.*, 1912. Burnet, *Thales to Plato*: R. B. English, *Class. Weekly*, 1915. Reviews of Taylor, *Varia Socratica*: P. Natorp, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1911; F. Lortzing, *Berlin. phil. Wochenschr.*, 1912; W. J. Goodrich, *Class. Rev.*, 1911; R. Petrie, *Mind*, 1911 (*Aristoph. and Soc.*); C. M. Gillespie, *Class. Quart.*, 1912 (*The Use of εἶδος and ἰδέα in Hippocrates*); A. S.

Ferguson, *Class. Quart.*, 1913 (*The Impiety of Socrates*); G. C. Field, *Socrates and Plato* (Parker and Co., Oxford, 1913).

Except where mentioned in the text, I consulted these very slightly in preparing this paper, being desirous of forming an independent judgment. See also A. M. Adam, *Plato: Moral and Political Ideals* (Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature), 1913, *Preface*. I have not been able to see the reviews in the *Class. Weekly*.

² Burnet, *Phaedo* xlv.

latest works, Socrates takes little or no part in the discussion. These dialogues are the *Parmenides*, *Sophist*, *Politicus*, *Timaeus*, and *Laws*. Professor Burnet says that here Plato begins to teach philosophy on his own account, and the retirement of Socrates is accompanied by criticism of *Socratic* (commonly called Platonic) doctrine, notably of the theory of Ideas. For that theory something else is substituted, which is Plato's own, the fruit of his maturest thought.

These dialogues do seem to criticize the theory of Ideas—it is difficult to avoid using the expression 'Plato's early theory of Ideas,' so familiar to all of us who have in our day sat at Dr. Jackson's feet, but Professor Burnet will have none of it, because, he says, he does not believe the theory to be Plato's at all. Anyhow, to whomsoever it may belong, that theory is very much pulled to pieces in the *Parmenides* and other dialogues. It comes in also for a good deal of battering direct or indirect in the *Theaetetus* and *Philebus*—likewise held to be late works—where Socrates is nevertheless the chief spokesman. How does Professor Burnet¹ get over this difficulty? The *Theaetetus*, he says, deals with a Megarian variety of Socratic doctrine; there is therefore 'no difficulty in making Socrates the chief speaker,' even though 'the point of view is no longer Socratic.' The *Philebus* was written, he says again, in consequence of a discussion in the Academy of the heresy, introduced by Eudoxus, that Pleasure is the Good. It was an appropriate theme for Socrates to discuss; Socrates might well take the leading rôle, though 'undeniably' he speaks often with an alien voice.² I do not press this point, but it is certainly curious, if Plato is 'quite conscious of the impropriety of making Socrates the leading speaker'³ when he is presenting problems of his own, that Socrates should appear as protagonist in two out of the seven dialogues concerned with such problems.

For Professor Burnet's exposition of these dialogues, in his *Thales to Plato* the world owes him unstinted gratitude and admiration. Four years ago it seemed to me that it would be hard to find any two leading students of Plato who were in agreement about the nature of his reconstructed doctrine; so obscurely is it stated by him. But hereafter many who may refuse to admit that 'so long as they are content to know something of the *Republic* and the earlier dialogues, Platonism must be a sealed book to them,'⁴ will surely rejoice to take Professor Burnet as their guide to what he will trounce them for calling the later instead of the only Platonism.

Professor Taylor foreshadows⁵ that Socrates is not long to be left in possession of his 'Socraticism.' The old story goes that Uranus was displaced by his son Cronus, and Cronus in his turn had to give way to Zeus. Professor Taylor gives us an inverse expulsion of potentates. Hitherto Plato has been the reigning sovereign; now he is deposed in favour of Socrates, his predecessor, and as we have seen Socrates is said by both Professors to have learnt much of his lore from Pythagoras. . . . But let me quote Professor Taylor himself. 'Behind Socrates, if the main ideas of these studies contain substantial truth,

¹ *Thales to Plato*, p. 235.

² *Ib.* p. 324.

⁴ *Thales to Plato*, Preface.

⁵ *V.S.* p. 268.

³ *Phaedo* xxxvi.

we dimly discern the half-obliterated features of Pythagoras of Samos, and behind Pythagoras we can only just descry the mists which enclose whatever may be hidden under the name of Orpheus. And behind Orpheus, for us at least, there is only the impenetrable Night.' If we are compelled to choose between Plato and impenetrable Night as the author of the visions in the *Phaedrus* and *Symposium*, may we not expect that there will be a good many supporters of Plato?

By what arguments is the thesis of Socrates the thinker, Plato the recorder (in all dialogues except the seven allowed to be 'Platonic') upheld? Consider these five passages:

I.

1. ἀδικεῖ Σωκράτης οὗς μὲν ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς οὐ νομίζων, ἕτερα δὲ καινὰ δαιμόνια εἰσφέρων (εἰσηγούμενος Diog. Laert. ii. 5. 40) ἀδικεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς νέους διαφθείρων. (Xen. Mem. i. 1. 1)

2. Σωκράτη φησὶν ἀδικεῖν τοὺς τε νέους διαφθείροντα καὶ θεοὺς οὗς ἡ πόλις νομίζει οὐ νομίζοντα, ἕτερα δὲ δαιμόνια καινὰ. (Plat. Ap. 24b)

3. διετεθρύλητο γὰρ ὡς φαίη Σωκράτης τὸ δαιμόνιον ἑαυτῷ σημαίνειν· ὅθεν δὴ καὶ μάλιστα μοι δοκοῦσιν αὐτὸν αἰτιάσασθαι καινὰ δαιμόνια εἰσφέρειν. (Xen. Mem. i. 1. 2)

4. τούτου δὲ αἴτιον ἐστὶν ὃ ὑμεῖς ἐμοῦ πολλάκις ἀκηκόατε πολλαχοῦ λέγοντος, ὅτι μοι θεῖόν τι καὶ δαιμόνιον γίγνεται, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ ἐπικωμῶδῶν Μέλητος ἐγράφητο . . . τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὃ μοι ἐναντιοῦται τὰ πολιτικὰ πράττειν. (Plat. Ap. 31c)

5. ΣΩ. φησὶ γάρ με ποιητὴν εἶναι θεῶν, καὶ ὡς καινοὺς ποιοῦντα θεοὺς τοὺς δ' ἀρχαίους οὐ νομίζοντα ἐγράφητο τούτων αὐτῶν ἕνεκα, ὥς φησιν. ΕΥΘ. μανθάνω, ὦ Σώκρατες· ὅτι δὴ σὺ τὸ δαιμόνιον φῆς σαντῷ ἐκάστοτε γίγνεσθαι. (Plat. Euthyphr. 3b)

I. 1. is found in Xenophon and also in Diogenes Laertius, with the single difference that in Diogenes εἰσηγούμενος takes the place of εἰσφέρων. Diogenes gives Plutarch's friend Favorinus of Arles as his authority for saying that the document was still preserved in his day. I. 2. is the form of indictment quoted by Socrates as the words of Meletus. Both passages formulate two charges against Socrates, his dealings with new δαιμόνια, and his corruption of youth. I. 3. declares it to be a matter of common knowledge that Socrates had a δαιμόνιον which gave him signs, and that owing to this δαιμόνιον he was accused of introducing new δαιμόνια. I. 4. gives Socrates' reason for abstaining from political life. 'You have,' he says, 'constantly heard the reason from me, in all sorts of places. It is that I have something godlike and δαιμόνιον which, as you know, is just what Meletus burlesqued and put in his indictment. This sign,' he goes on to say, 'has always forbidden me to take part in politics.' Moreover in I. 5. Socrates tells Euthyphro in much the same terms about the accusation that Meletus is bringing in against him, only instead of καινὰ δαιμόνια he speaks of καινοὶ θεοί. Euthyphro at once remarks: 'μανθάνω, ὦ Σώκρατες, because you say that you have your δαιμόνιον always with you.'

On the strength of these passages it has been supposed, one would think not unnaturally, that the *καὶνὰ δαιμόνια* with which the indictment charged Socrates meant his *δαιμόνιον* or divine sign, which always checked him when he was about to commit a wrong action. Not so Professor Taylor. He says that the Athenians could not possibly object to anything so simple and innocent; that Xenophon is 'uncandid' in suggesting that it was the cause of the charge of impiety, that the real *καὶνὰ δαιμόνια* are Pythagorean and Orphic forms of worship, and that even the Platonic Ideas—if I may still use the word 'Platonic' in this connexion—would probably be set down as 'outlandish deities of some kind.'¹

How is the position to be held that the divine sign was not the objectionable innovation, in the face of the statements, many times repeated, of Plato and Xenophon that it was? We must add Xenophon's *Apology* to the list of books mentioned above. Professor Taylor is fully equal to the task. Xenophon is easily disposed of. He knew all about the Orphic and Pythagorean tendencies of Socrates, but wished to preserve his master's memory from the taint of association with a mysterious and suspected sect. 'His purpose,' says Professor Taylor, . . . 'is to show that Socrates had *no* dangerous originality. . . . Hence he carefully suppresses, as far as he can, all mention of the personal peculiarities which distinguished Socrates from the average decent Athenian.'² Accordingly he disingenuously takes over from Plato the suggestion that the *δαιμόνιον* of Socrates is the hateful innovation, in order to take his readers off the scent of foreign Pythagorean cults. If so, Xenophon was imprudent in quoting the words of the indictment, as Professor Taylor insists³ that *εἰσφέρων* and *εἰσηγούμενος* alike mean 'importing,' and cannot be applied to a home-grown production such as the *δαιμόνιον*. He was still more imprudent when he made special mention of well-known Pythagoreans, Simmias, Cebes, Theodorus, and so forth, as being friends of Socrates. It is very interesting to study, on p. 31 sq. of *Varia Socratica*, the anodynes which Professor Taylor administers to his conscience, uneasy on this point, but it would take too long to reproduce them here.

Xenophon, then, is merely a borrower of the *δαιμόνιον* from Plato. Now we must tackle Plato about the *δαιμόνιον*, and we shall find him a harder nut to crack. As regards the passage where Euthyphro (*Euthyphr.* 3 b) gaily identifies the *δαιμόνιον* with the 'new gods,' Professor Taylor has a short and easy method of dealing with it. He omits to mention it. But *Apology* 31 b (I. 4) compels him to exert all his ingenuity.⁴ He has established to his satisfaction that Meletus said nothing about the *δαιμόνιον* in his speech at the trial. (As the speech has not come down to us, we may be pardoned if we do not feel so sure of its contents as Professor Taylor.) Therefore, not being in the speech for the prosecution, the *δαιμόνιον* cannot fittingly appear in the indictment. But the *Apology* says it does, *ὃ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ ἐπικωμῶδῶν Μέλητος ἐγράψατο*. What can we do? Let us remark the *δὲ*—*ὃ δὲ καί*. The *δὲ* shows conclusively

¹ *V.S.* pp. 10, 23.² *V.S.* p. 31.³ *V.S.* p. 6.⁴ *V.S.* pp. 13 sq.

that the pretended explanation is ironical. 'It is in fact an admirable stroke of humour,' says Professor Taylor, 'to suggest that the tremendous charge of "importing novel δαιμόνια" has nothing worse than this trifling business of the σημεῖον behind it.' All of us who have had to write Greek prose know the large amount of work that δῆ is expected to do, but so fateful a δῆ as this—a δῆ which for 2,300 years has failed to meet with a correct interpretation in one of the most widely-read works of antiquity—such a δῆ has been rare in our experience.

A simple-minded person might ask: 'If Socrates was accused of importing foreign deities, why does he say nothing about the charge when defending himself?' Professor Taylor's answer is ready. He says nothing, because he knows the charge is true. Pythagorean and Orphic cults with their hateful accompaniments of a taste for advanced mathematics, and a belief in the immortality of the soul—these were the offences of Socrates in the eyes of the Athenian world, together with suspicions of his anti-democratic leanings. Is it likely that sharp-witted Athenians to whom all this was notorious would shortly afterwards be hoodwinked by Xenophon's gentle efforts to substitute the δαιμόνιον? The improbability is increased, if we agree with Professor Burnet and Professor Taylor that Xenophon took most of what he had to say from Plato. Xenophon's *Apology*, which both they and Croiset consider genuine, contains a very well-marked reference to the *Phaedo*. Now the *Phaedo* is steeped in Orphic and Pythagorean beliefs, the theory of Ideas, and the doctrine of immortality—all subjects in the opinion of Professor Taylor likely to goad a normal Athenian to fury. Why did Xenophon remind his readers of so dangerous a work? And why, still more emphatically, did they allow Plato to write it? If Socrates was prosecuted for impiety on these counts, surely the writer of the *Phaedo*, *Phaedrus*, *Gorgias*, *Symposium*, and *Republic* ought to have been brought before a court and punished long before he had so black a list of heretical works standing in his name. It is right to add that Professor Burnet does not agree with his colleague about the cause of the condemnation of Socrates, but regards corruption of youth as the main charge and fear of Socrates as an anti-democrat the motive for the verdict.¹

II.

1. ἡ μὲν οὖν πολιτεία περὶ ἧς ὁ Σωκράτης εἶρηκεν ταύτας τε τὰς ἀπορίας ἔχει . . . τῶν δὲ Νόμων τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον μέρος νόμοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, ὀλίγα δὲ περὶ τῆς πολιτείας εἶρηκεν. (Ar. Pol. 1264b 24)

2. διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔχουσιν οἱ μαθηματικοὶ λόγοι ἡθῆ, ὅτι οὐδὲ προαίρεσιν · τὸ γὰρ οὐ ἔνεκα οὐκ ἔχουσιν. ἀλλ' οἱ Σωκρατικοί. περὶ τοιούτων γὰρ λέγουσιν. (Ar. Rhet. 1417a 19)

3. παραβολὴ δὲ τὰ Σωκρατικά, οἷον εἴ τις λέγοι ὅτι οὐ δεῖ κληρωτοὺς ἄρχειν.

¹ *Thales to Plato*, p. 191 n.

ὅμοιον γὰρ ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις . . . τῶν πλωτήρων ὃν τινα δεῖ κυβερνᾶν κληρώσειεν, ὥς δέον τὸν λαχόντα, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸν ἐπιστάμενον. (Ar. *Rhet.* 1393b 4)

4. ὑπερορᾶν ἐποίει τῶν καθεστώτων νόμων τοὺς συνόντας, λέγων ὡς μῶρον εἶη τοὺς μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἄρχοντας ἀπὸ κυάμου καθιστάναι, κυβερνήτῃ δὲ μηδένα θέλειν χρῆσθαι κυαμεντῷ μηδὲ τέκτονι μηδ' αὐλητῇ μηδ' ἐπ' ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, ἃ πολλῷ ἐλάττονας βλάβας ἀμαρτανόμενα ποιεῖ τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀμαρτανομένων. (Xen. *Mem.* i. 2. 9)

In his second essay, *The Aristotelian Socrates*, Professor Taylor makes out a very good case for dropping the distinction commonly made between Σωκράτης used by Aristotle without an article to mean Socrates the real man, and ὁ Σωκράτης meaning Plato. At the same time he ignores another distinction, which Dr. Natorp, in his review of *Varia Socratica* in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1911, says always holds good, namely that Aristotle uses the expression 'Socrates said,' in the imperfect or aorist tense, when he is speaking of the real Socrates, 'says' or 'has said,' in the present or perfect, when he is referring to the works of Plato. But though we may admit that Σωκράτης and ὁ Σωκράτης are used almost indiscriminately, Professor Taylor's conclusion that ὁ Σωκράτης invariably means the Socrates who lived at Athens in the fifth century is more difficult to accept. The passage II. 1 from the *Politics* is enough to show this. Aristotle has been speaking of difficulties in the *Republic*, and goes on to say that the *Laws* (obviously of the same author) consists chiefly of a code of enactments, but the writer has said a little about the form of the commonwealth. As Socrates does not figure in the *Laws* at all, ὁ Σωκράτης cannot very well here be taken to mean Socrates as reported by Plato.¹ Further, Professor Burnet's canon would make the *Laws* one of the dialogues that contain Plato's own teaching, owing to the absence of Socrates from the conversation. It is plain that Aristotle considers ὁ Σωκράτης to be responsible for the doctrine of both the *Republic* and the *Laws*, and that will suit neither Professor Burnet's canon, nor his wish to deprive Plato of all part and lot in the original thinking of the *Republic*.

The passage II. 2 certainly shows that Aristotle here means by Σωκρατικοὶ λόγοι the works of Plato. Professor Taylor says that the reference is to the whole class of such λόγοι, with the Platonic discourses uppermost in Aristotle's mind.² But it is precisely in the matter of dramatic ἦθος that Plato's dialogues are superior to Xenophon's or to such a discourse as the *δισσοὶ λόγοι*. Surely just as Σωκράτης sometimes means Plato and nobody else, so Σωκρατικός is now and again Aristotle's equivalent for Platonic, and he does not imply that there is nothing of Plato's own thought and personality mixed up in his Σωκρατικοὶ λόγοι.

Passage II. 3 is one of the few places where Professor Taylor thinks³ that Aristotle, in mentioning Socrates, has a non-Platonic source in view, and II. 4

¹ Professor Burnet, *Phaedo* xxv., holds that Aristotle has here made a slip, owing to his habit of regarding the dialogues of Plato as

'discourses of Socrates.'

² *V.S.* pp. 60 sq.

³ *V.S.* p. 58.

is the passage in the *Memorabilia* to which he believes Aristotle to be alluding. Here perhaps he is unduly generous. The contempt shown for election of rulers by lot (who would ever think of choosing a ship's captain by lot, outside Russian revolutionary circles?) no doubt has its closest parallel in the Xenophon extract, but all through Plato there are many similar strains—witness the unruly crew in *Republic* VI. I am very nearly willing to allow Professor Taylor his contention that every mention of Socrates in Aristotle, apart from a few trivial instances, can be traced to a Platonic origin. Aristotle would naturally hear most of the traditions through the Academy. But there is one exception of vital importance, and that is V. 1. To this we must give our attention presently.

III.

1. Σωκράτους δὲ περὶ μὲν τὰ ἠθικὰ πραγματευομένου, περὶ δὲ τῆς ὅλης φύσεως οὐθέν, ἐν μέντοι τούτοις τὸ καθόλου ζητοῦντος καὶ περὶ ὀρισμῶν ἐπιστήσαντος πρώτου τὴν διάνοιαν, ἐκείνον ἀποδεξάμενος . . . τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ὄντων ιδέας προσηγόρευσε. (Ar. Met. A. 987b 1)

2. περὶ δὲ τῶν ιδεῶν πρώτου . . . ἐπισκεπτέον, . . . ὥς ὑπέλαβον ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἱ πρῶτοι τὰς ιδέας φήσαντες εἶναι . . . Σωκράτους δὲ περὶ τὰς ἠθικὰς ἀρετὰς πραγματευομένου, καὶ περὶ τούτων ὀρίζεσθαι καθόλου ζητοῦντος πρώτου . . . δύο γάρ ἐστιν ἃ τις ἂν ἀποδοίη Σωκράτει δικαίως, τοὺς τ' ἐπακτικούς λόγους καὶ τὸ ὀρίζεσθαι καθόλου· ταῦτα γάρ ἐστιν ἄμφω περὶ ἀρχὴν ἐπιστήμης. (Ar. Met. M. 1078b 9)

Professor Taylor holds it to be one of the common delusions of mankind about Socrates that he was interested chiefly in questions of ethics, and did not pursue the study of advanced mathematics or biology.¹ Xenophon indeed tells us that he thought people who troubled their heads about astronomy or the origin of the universe were fools, because such problems are too difficult for human beings. But then Xenophon's testimony has been put out of court, as all that he has to say is either worthless or garbled from Plato. But in the passage III. 1 Aristotle tells us as plainly as words can that Socrates studied ethics and left natural science alone. Professor Taylor remarks on this passage:² 'It is obvious that the statement might be made by a reader who knew Socrates only from his reading of Plato on the strength of almost any one of the discussions in, e.g., the *Charmides*, *Laches*, *Greater Hippias*, *Protagoras*, *Republic* I.' Quite so; but with the words *περὶ τῆς ὅλης φύσεως οὐθέν* in mind, how can Professor Burnet or Professor Taylor hold that this Socrates, who agrees well with the Socrates of the early dialogues in general, is identical with the Socrates of *Republic* VI. and VII., who has a passion for mathematical and scientific training? We begin to wonder whether Socrates is one and the same, wherever he appears in Plato. Anyhow Aristotle and Xenophon, who are both supposed to get all their knowledge of Socrates from Plato, put him down as a moralist, and Aristotle

¹ V.S. pp. 156 sqq. *et saep.*

² V.S. p. 63.

proceeds: 'He was the first person to seek for universals in ethics and to turn his attention to definitions.' Aristotle's style here becomes unfortunately characteristic. The subject to *προσηγόρευσε* is Plato, to be supplied from some nine lines back. Aristotle thus says: 'Plato approved of him (Socrates) and called things of this kind "Ideas."' I follow Bonitz rather than Professor Taylor, who in translating *Metaphysics* A renders *ἀποδεξάμενος* by 'succeeding,' on what authority I cannot discover. We see then that Aristotle thinks Plato, not Socrates, to have been the first to call this class of things 'Ideas.'

In III. 2 Aristotle wants to see in what sense Ideas were understood by those who first asserted their existence. Then he distinguishes Socrates from these people, reiterating his statement of Book A. that Socrates studied moral virtues and was the first to attempt general definitions of them. He continues: 'Two things may justly be assigned to Socrates, *ἐπακτικοὶ λόγοι* and *τὸ ὀρίζεσθαι καθόλου*: for both these deal with the beginning of knowledge.' Professor Taylor brings evidence to show that Socrates was not the *first* to use *ἐπακτικοὶ λόγοι*,¹ but that is of no consequence to us. The point is that Aristotle sharply marks off Socrates from those who affirm the existence of Ideas.

Who then were *οἱ πρῶτοι τὰς ἰδέας φήσαντες εἶναι*? We shall find the answer in the fourth group of passages.

IV.

1. *συνέβη δ' ἡ περὶ τῶν εἰδῶν δόξα τοῖς εἰποῦσι διὰ τὸ πεισθῆναι περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας τοῖς Ἡρακλειτείοις λόγοις ὥς πάντων τῶν αἰσθητῶν αἰεὶ ρεόντων, ὥστ' εἴπερ ἐπιστήμη τινὸς ἔσται καὶ φρόνησις ἐτέρας δεῖν τινὰς φύσεις εἶναι παρὰ τὰς αἰσθητὰς μενούσας· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τῶν ρεόντων ἐπιστήμην.* (Ar. *Met.* M. 1078b 12)

2. *μετὰ δὲ τὰς εἰρημένας φιλοσοφίας ἡ Πλάτωνος ἐπεγένετο πραγματεία, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ τούτοις ἀκολουθοῦσα, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἴδια παρὰ τὴν τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ἔχουσα φιλοσοφίαν. ἐκ νέου τε γὰρ συνήθης γενόμενος πρῶτον Κρατύλῳ καὶ ταῖς Ἡρακλειτείοις δόξαις, ὥς ἀπάντων τῶν αἰσθητῶν αἰεὶ ρεόντων καὶ ἐπιστήμης περὶ αὐτῶν οὐκ οὔσης, ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ὕστερον οὕτως ὑπέλαβεν.* (Ar. *Met.* A. 987a 29)

IV. 1 follows the words *οἱ πρῶτοι . . . εἶναι* in III. 2. 'The theory about the Ideas occurred to those who put it forward, because they were convinced of the truth that all sensible things are in a state of flux, so that if we are to have any knowledge and wisdom there must be some other abiding substances besides sensibles, for there can be no knowledge of things that are in a state of flux.' It is implied that the abiding substances are what are called Ideas.

To return to Book A: IV. 2 immediately precedes III. 1. Aristotle has been reviewing early philosophers, and is about to give an account of Plato, who followed his predecessors, especially Pythagoreans, in much, but had some individual characteristics, distinguishing him from Italian or Pythagorean philosophers, because in his youth he had, through Cratylus, become familiar

¹ V.S. pp. 72 sqq.

with the doctrine of Heraclitus, that sensibles are perpetually in a state of flux, and do not admit of knowledge, and to this position he held ever after. Wherefore, as he could not be happy without the hope of knowledge, he adopted Socrates' plan of definitions, and, as we saw, 'called this class of things "Ideas."'

It seems an old story to most of us that Plato, in order to avoid the extreme penalty of Heracliteanism, caught at the generalizations of Socrates, and did something further with them. One would think that Professor Taylor could hardly interpret these passages to mean that *Socrates* took over the theory of Ideas direct from the Pythagoreans, and that Plato had nothing to do with it. But he does, with intrepidity, in these words:¹ 'The curious thing is that Aristotle has filled out a chapter' (this Chapter VI. of A) 'intended to prove the Pythagoreanism of Plato by an account of his mental development which appears to ascribe everything to the rival influences of Heraclitus and Socrates. We naturally ask, where then do the Pythagoreans come into the story? There is indeed no place left for them except on one supposition. If Socrates was something very much like a Pythagorean himself, and Aristotle and his hearers knew the fact, there would be no need to specify Pythagorean ideas as a third source of the Platonic doctrine, because the hearers would at once understand that the Pythagorean influence was part of the influence of Socrates himself.' Are not Aristotle's words, taking Books A and M together, perfectly clear? The full-blown theory of Ideas, which to Professor Taylor is synonymous with a large part of Pythagoreanism, is declared to be neither Pythagorean nor Socratic, but Platonic.

V.

1. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Σωκράτης τὰ καθόλου οὐ χωριστὰ ἐποίει οὐδὲ τοὺς ὀρισμούς· οἱ δὲ ἐχώρισαν, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ὄντων ιδέας προσηγόρευσαν. (Ar. *Met.* M. 1078b 30)

2. χωρὶς μὲν εἶδη αὐτὰ ἅττα. (Plat. *Par.* 130b)

3. ἀνθρώπου εἶδος χωρὶς ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν οἰοι ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν πάντων. (*Ib.* 130c)

4. καὶ εἶμι πάλιν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα τὰ πολυθρύλητα καὶ ἄρχομαι ἀπ' ἐκείνων, ὑποθέμενος εἶναι τι καλὸν αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ μέγα καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα. (Plat. *Phaed.* 100b)

5. εἶδος γάρ πού τι ἐν ἑκάστῳ εἰώθαμεν τίθεσθαι περὶ ἕκαστα τὰ πολλὰ, οἷς ταῦτόν ὄνομα ἐπιφέρομεν. (Plat. *Rep.* 596a)

We now come to the passage V. 1 on which Professor Taylor avowedly stakes his all. 'If,' he says,² 'the accepted interpretation is correct, every word of the preceding argument may be accepted, and yet my thesis is hopelessly ruined.' He puts the current interpretation quite fairly, thus: 'Socrates did not ascribe an independent reality to universals; this was done first by Plato, who also gave them the name of Ideas.' A reference to the context will show that οἱ δὲ are οἱ πρῶτοι τὰς ιδέας φήσαντες εἶναι, that is, we have seen, Plato.

¹ V.S. p. 38.

² V.S. pp. 68 sqq.

If this is right, we have Aristotle telling us something of the highest importance about Socrates, which he knows from a source other than the works of Plato. It is Professor Taylor's business to disprove the current interpretation.

Ordinarily we say that Socrates thought of justice and beauty as a common characteristic of the individual beings forming the class 'just men,' 'beautiful men;' Plato said that there are eternal immutable Ideas of justice, beauty, goodness and so forth existing *αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτά*. V. 4 gives us this view shortly, describing the pre-supposition of such Ideas of beauty and goodness as well known,¹ and V. 5 tells us that such Ideas are assumed to correspond with every set of two or more individual things, which are called by the same name. V. 2 says that there are certain Ideas, and they are *χωρίς*, separate. V. 3 says that there is an Idea of man, *χωρίς*, separate and apart from us and all such as we are. It all seems to hang together very well. Plato separated, *ἐχώρισε*, the Socratic universals from the individuals composing each class, and turned them into self-existing Ideas, which he said were *χωρίς*, *αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτά* or as Aristotle expressed it in IV. 1 existing *παρὰ τὰς αἰσθητάς*, 'besides things sensible.'

But the *Phaedo* and many other dialogues also teach that particular things inhere or participate in the Ideas, and derive such existence as they have entirely from this participation. Therefore Professor Taylor,² though he allows that the words *χωρίς*, *αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτά* and the like are continually used of Ideas in the *Phaedo*, *Parmenides* and elsewhere, contends that the Ideas are not nearly separate enough to justify us in believing Aristotle to have the supporters of these Ideas in mind, when he says *οἱ δὲ ἐχώρισαν*. On the contrary, Aristotle means *τὰ καθόλου*, which are *οὐ χωριστά*, to be the Ideas of the *Phaedo* and so forth, because there is participation between these Ideas and particulars. Socrates held this kind of Ideal theory, and Plato reports his views.

Who, then, are the people who *ἐχώρισαν*? Both Professor Burnet and Professor Taylor answer: 'Certain friends of Ideas,' who appear in the *Sophist* of Plato 248a. These men allow no connexion whatever between Ideas and particulars, and insist upon entire separation. Thus, Professor Taylor can triumphantly point to the Socratic *τὰ καθόλου* as Aristotle's name for what we generally call Platonic Ideas, and to the *εἰδῶν φίλοι* of the *Sophist* as the people who *ἐχώρισαν*, so that everything in Aristotle about Socrates is at last assigned to a Platonic source.

It is not necessary here to go into the difficult question of identifying these *εἰδῶν φίλοι*. It is enough to say once more that from the context Aristotle

¹ Professor Burnet, *Thales to Plato*, p. 155, says: 'Nothing can well be more explicit than the way Plato ascribes the doctrine [the theory of forms] to Sokrates. In the *Phaedo* it is spoken of (100b) as "nothing new," but just what Sokrates is always talking about,' and the notes in his edition refer to 76 D & *θυροῦμεν ἀεὶ*. But if Aristotle himself (according to Professor Burnet) is capable

of confusing Plato and Socrates (see *Phaedo* xxv., quoted on p. 129 above) through 'his habit of regarding the dialogues of Plato as "discourses of Sokrates,"' what is there here to show that anything more explicit is meant than 'what we, the speakers in the Platonic dialogues, habitually discuss'?

² *V.S.* pp. 81 sqq.

can hardly mean οἱ δὲ ἐχώρισαν to be anybody but οἱ πρῶτοι τὰς ιδέας φήσαντες εἶναι. Professor Burnet, following Proclus in *Parm.* 149, puts them down as later Pythagoreans;¹ Professor Taylor thinks that the εἰδῶν φίλοι are partly the representatives of a development later than the age of Socrates, probably Polyxenus, Bryson and their followers; partly however also Eleatic, Pythagorean and Megarian teachers contemporary with Socrates. But if Socrates held the entire Ideal theory no later philosophers can be οἱ πρῶτοι τὰς ιδέας φήσαντες εἶναι; therefore οἱ δὲ ἐχώρισαν, if they are the εἰδῶν φίλοι, can only be pre-Socratic Pythagorean or other teachers. Aristotle's whole argument, if I have explained it fairly, seems to show that in these passages he distinguishes Socrates not from such teachers, but from Plato himself. Moreover it is exceedingly difficult to make χωριστά mean, not 'capable of separation from particulars,' but 'incapable of connexion with particulars.' It is not surprising that Dr. Lortzing,² without refuting this interpretation precisely, should dismiss it as 'incredibly artificial,' 'unglaublich gekünstelt.' Can Professor Taylor escape the ruin he foresees, should he fail to win this, his fundamental point?

In his third essay, Professor Taylor gives an exceedingly interesting description of a discourse called the *δισσοὶ λόγοι*.³ But the essay is not of great importance for Professor Taylor's theory. It only shows what few would care to dispute, that Socratic influence was considerable outside Athens, either before or immediately after the death of Socrates.

The fifth essay, 'On the words εἶδος, ιδέα, in pre-Platonic literature,' contains a valuable collection of passages in many authors earlier than Plato, in which the words, εἶδος, ιδέα occur. His conclusion, in his own words, is as follows:⁴ 'We may thus, I think, take it as established that εἶδος and ιδέα, wherever they appear as technical terms, alike in rhetoric, in medicine, and in metaphysics, have acquired their technical character under Pythagorean influence.' I cannot attempt to criticize his methods and results, but will refer to Mr. Gillespie's article in the *Classical Quarterly*, July, 1912. Mr. Gillespie's examination is searching, and his conclusion brief, namely that 'Professor Taylor's importation of Pythagoreanism is unsupported by any evidence.' I do not doubt that Pythagorean mathematics had a great power of attraction for Plato—Professor Taylor would say Socrates—though as far as I can see Mr. Gillespie is right in declining to derive either the name or the conception of the Platonic Ideas from Pythagoreans.

It remains to say a few words about the fourth essay, entitled the *Phrontisterion*. Professor Taylor holds that the *Clouds* contradicts the picture of Socrates in the *Memorabilia*, but confirms Plato's account of him. Above all, we are to learn from the *Clouds* three things:⁵ first, that Socrates was an enthusiastic student of physical and biological science, in close relation with such φυσικοί as Anaxagoras and Diogenes of Apollonia. Through Diogenes he

¹ *Thales to Plato*, pp. 91, 280.

² *Berlin. phil. Wochenschr.*, 1912.

³ Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*,² II. p. 635.

⁴ *V.S.* p. 257.

⁵ *V.S.* p. 174.

is connected with the Italian medical school of Croton, and so with Pythagoreanism.

Secondly, he possessed mathematical attainments of an advanced kind, another link with Pythagorean science.

Thirdly, he formed the centre of a semi-scientific, semi-religious brotherhood, an Orphic-Pythagorean community of some kind. Its members were, probably with truth, regarded as unbelievers in the official gods of Athens. Their minds were full of those much talked of things, the *αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτὰ εἶδη* (*Phaedo* 100b, passage V. 4, above). It is not uncommonly supposed that Socrates had Orphic and Pythagorean leanings in his religious beliefs, but as regards Professor Taylor's mystic brotherhood, I fail to see that it is supported by any evidence either from Xenophon or from Plato.

VI.

1. τὸ δὲ μέχρι τῶν δυσξυνέτων διαγραμμάτων γεωμετρίαν μανθάνειν ἀπεδοκίμαζεν· ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ὠφελοῖη ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔφη ὁρᾶν· καίτοι οὐκ ἄπειρός γε αὐτῶν ἦν . . . ὅλως δὲ τῶν οὐρανίων, ἥ ἕκαστα ὁ θεὸς μηχανᾶται, φροντιστὴν γίγνεσθαι ἀπέτρεπεν· οὔτε γὰρ εὐρετὰ ἀνθρώποις αὐτὰ ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, οὔτε χαρίζεσθαι θεοῖς ἂν ἡγείτο τὸν ζητοῦντα ἃ ἐκείνοι σαφηνίσαι οὐκ ἐβουλήθησαν. (*Xen. Mem.* iv. 7. 3, 6)

2. ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη, ὦ Κέβης, νέος ὢν θαυμαστῶς ὡς ἐπεθύμησα ταύτης τῆς σοφίας ἦν δὴ καλοῦσι περὶ φύσεως ἱστορίαν. (*Plat. Phaed.* 96a)

3. ἀλλ' ἀκούσας μὲν ποτε ἐκ βιβλίου τινός, ὡς ἔφη, Ἀναξαγόρου ἀναγινώσκοντος, καὶ λέγοντος ὡς ἄρα νοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ διακοσμῶν τε καὶ πάντων αἴτιος, ταύτη δὴ τῇ αἰτίᾳ ἦσθην. (*Ib.* 97b)

4. ἀπὸ δὲ θαυμαστῆς ἐλπίδος, ὦ ἐταῖρε, ὥχόμην φερόμενος, ἐπειδὴ προϊὼν καὶ ἀναγινώσκων ὁρῶ ἄνδρα τῷ μὲν νῷ οὐδὲν χρώμενον. (*Ib.* 98b)

Now, what does Xenophon tell us of Socrates and his science and mathematics? In the passage VI. 1 Xenophon makes Socrates discourage the study of abstract mathematics which are hard to understand, for he could see no use in them, but all the same he was not unversed in them, οὐκ ἄπειρός γε αὐτῶν ἦν. In §§ 4 and 5, not printed here, he advises the study of astronomy and meteorology for practical purposes; but to search out the laws of the universe is in his opinion too hard for man, and is a pursuit best left alone. You may hunt up and down the *Clouds*, and I think that you will not find the Socrates of Aristophanes pursuing any scientific or mathematical study, which would be banned by the Socrates of Xenophon; but you will find him much engrossed with ethical and political questions, just like the Socrates of Xenophon and Aristotle. Nor does the Socrates of the *Apology* and *Phaedo* appear in a very different light. In the *Apology* indeed, he declares that he never talks about physical science, but there is nothing in his words incompatible with his having been at one time interested in the study on his own account. The three famous passages in VI. from the *Phaedo* only show that he had a strong desire as a young man to be a student of nature; that he was

attracted by a work of Anaxagoras, hoping to find therein an exposition of the divine government of the universe; and that his disappointment was bitter, when the author discussed joints and tendons, instead of the purpose of the creator.

VII.

1. αὐτίκα γεωμετρίαν μέχρι μὲν τούτου ἔφη δεῖν μανθάνειν . . . οὕτω δὲ τοῦτο ῥάδιον εἶναι μαθεῖν, ὥστε τὸν προσέχοντα τὸν νοῦν τῇ μετρήσει ἅμα τὴν τε γῆν ὁπόση ἐστὶν εἰδέναι, καὶ ὡς μετρεῖται ἐπιστάμενον ἀπιέναι. (Xen. *Mem.* iv. 7. 2)

2. ΣΤ. τουτὶ δὲ τί; ΜΑ. γεωμετρία. ΣΤ. τοῦτ' οὖν τί ἐστὶ χρήσιμον; ΜΑ. γῆν ἀναμετρεῖσθαι. ΣΤ. πότερα τὴν κληρουχικὴν; ΜΑ. οὐκ, ἀλλὰ τὴν σύμπασαν. (Arist. *Clouds* 201)

3. πᾶσα αὕτη ἡ πραγματεία τῶν τεχνῶν, ἃς διήλθομεν (sc. arithmetic, plane and solid geometry, astronomy and harmonics) ταύτην ἔχει τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἐπαναγωγὴν τοῦ βελτίστου ἐν ψυχῇ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἀρίστου ἐν τοῖς οὐσι θέαν. (Plat. *Rep.* 532c)

To me, unlike Professor Taylor, it seems more difficult to reconcile the *Clouds* and the *Phaedo* than the *Clouds* and Xenophon. In VII. 1, 2, there seems a remarkably strong likeness between the kind of mathematics recommended by Socrates in the *Memorabilia*, and the geometry studied in the *Phrontisterion*. To use geometry, as the disciple does, to measure the whole earth, sounds, I admit, like a purely scientific interest, but I suspect that the disciple is talking rather big, and would not object to making Athenian cleruchies co-extensive with the world. On the other hand Socrates in the *Phaedo* has had a passion for science, and has become profoundly out of love with it. In the *Clouds* and Xenophon Socrates teaches or advises the study of practical mathematics. Very different is the Platonic view of mathematics set forth in VII. 3. Here the study appears as the power to guide that which is best in the soul to the contemplation of that which is best among things that are.

This last passage leads to what is to my mind the most convincing argument against Professor Burnet and Professor Taylor. The Socrates who holds this exalted view of mathematics in the *Republic* is poles apart from the Socrates of the *Laches*, *Charmides* or *Apology* in his intellectual outlook. Not in his personal characteristics and moral temperament, but in the comprehensive grasp of his mind. The Socrates of Plato is not one, but two, and there is a gradual transition from the one to the other. In the dialogues, usually, perhaps now universally, recognized as early, the Socrates depicted is the Socrates of Xenophon, *plus* the vitality of Plato's dramatic gift. In the *Phaedo*, *Phaedrus*, *Republic*, and *Symposium*, the same Socrates appears with an added power of constructive thought and imagination, of which there is no trace in the earlier group of Plato's works. Between the two we may place the Socrates of the *Gorgias* and the *Meno*, and to some extent of the *Euthydemus*.

Which is the Socrates of history? How is the difference to be accounted for? Three ways of answering this latter question seem possible. Mr. Cornford put forward one incidentally and tentatively in *From Religion to Philosophy*.¹ He thought that Plato might not have known the full extent of his master's teaching, until he went on his travels after the death of Socrates. He then fell in with Pythagorean associates of Socrates, who instructed him in the true faith. Now Plato was twenty-eight at the time of Socrates' trial, and was only absent through illness from that last meeting of the brotherhood, as Professor Taylor might call it, in the prison-house, when the conversation of the *Phaedo* took place. Professor Taylor tells us that the *Clouds* assumes the Phrontisterion and its inhabitants to be perfectly familiar to the dullest Athenian peasant.² How should Plato, of all people, at the age of twenty-eight, escape knowing what was perfectly familiar to the dullest Athenian peasant, if it was there to be known, especially as he had opportunities denied to most Athenian peasants, whether dull or quick-witted, of associating with Socrates? Mr. Cornford's answer can surely not be entertained for long.

Professor Taylor's lecture to the British Academy suggests the second explanation.³ He divides the life of Socrates into three stages, 'one in which he appears mainly as a student, a second in which his great interest is to bring to naught the pretended wisdom of the "wits" (*οἱ σοφοί*), and a third in which he is mainly the counsellor of younger men.' Those Platonic dialogues, which are usually termed 'Socratic,' such as the *Laches*, *Charmides*, *Meno* and so forth, represent his last phase, when he has given up mathematics and metaphysics, and taken to befriending young men. The *Protagoras*, *Gorgias*, and *Republic I.* show him in the act of criticizing 'the wits'; the *Euthyphro*, *Apology* and *Crito* describe his latest days (except one), and have no Orphic or Pythagorean features. In the *Symposium* and *Phaedrus* he is of advanced middle age, but harks back to the scientific and philosophical fervour of his youth—hence the ardent tone of these works. The *Republic VI.* and *VII.* and *Timaeus* depict him in his enthusiastic student period, the *Parmenides* in his earliest youth. Roughly then, according to Professor Taylor, the older the Socrates, the less he is inclined to talk of Beauty and the Ideas, 'but the reason is that his audience' (now consisting of 'wits' or 'eager youth') 'would not understand, not that he has forgotten.' What then of the *Phaedo*? The conversation in the last scene of all is to be accounted for by the reversion of the old man's thoughts at the close of his life 'to the theory he had devised for himself in the early days when he haunted the school of Archelaus and sat at the feet of Zeno.'

Is not all this once more 'incredibly artificial?' Why should not the eager youth have been interested to hear about Beauty and the Ideas? How about the extremely philosophical conversation of the *Theaetetus*, held just before the trial of Socrates (*Theaet.* 210 D)? Where in any of the dialogues is there mention of the brotherhood and the *Phrontisterion*? And why is it that

¹ Pp. 242, 247 sqq.

² V.S. p. 146.

³ *Plato's Biography of Socrates*, p. 28 sq.

all the non-philosophical dialogues are thought by general agreement¹ to belong to Plato's earliest period? Many other questions might be put, but it is time to stop.

Failing Mr. Cornford's or Professor Taylor's explanations, must we not believe that Xenophon and the early Plato agree with one another, because they are describing the real Socrates, of whom Aristophanes has made certainly a caricature, yet a caricature agreeing much more nearly with the *Memorabilia* and the Socratic dialogues, than with Books VI. and VII. of the *Republic*?

VIII.

1. καὶ βουλοίμην ἂν ταῦτα διεξελθόντας ἡμᾶς ἐξελθεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὅ τι ἔστι, καὶ πάλιν ἐπισκέψασθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ εἴτε διδακτὸν εἴτε μὴ διδακτὸν. (Plat. *Prot.* 361c)

2. μὴ τοίνυν ὃ γε οὐ χρὴ ποίει, ὦ Κρίτων, ἀλλ' ἐάσας χαίρειν τοὺς ἐπιτηδεύοντας φιλοσοφίαν, εἴτε χρηστοὶ εἰσιν εἴτε πονηροί, αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα βασανίσας καλῶς τε καὶ εὖ, ἂν μὲν σοι φαίνεται φαῦλον ὄν, πάντ' ἄνδρα ἀπότρεπε, μὴ μόνον τοὺς νειεῖς· ἂν δὲ φαίνεται οἷον οἶμαι αὐτὸ ἐγὼ εἶναι, θαρρῶν δίδωκε καὶ ἄσκει, τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτο, αὐτὸς τε καὶ τὰ παιδία. (Plat. *Euthyd.* 307b)

3. ἔα τοίνυν, ὦ Κρίτων, καὶ πράττωμεν ταύτη, ἐπειδὴ ταύτη ὁ θεὸς ὑφηγεῖται. (Plat. *Crito* 54e)

IX.

1. ἡ οὖν ὑπάρχει διανοία μεγαλοπρέπεια καὶ θεωρία παντὸς μὲν χρόνου, πάσης δὲ οὐσίας, οἷόν τε οἶει τούτῳ μέγα τι δοκεῖν εἶναι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον; (Plat. *Rep.* 486a)

2. τί δὴτα, ἔφη, οἴομεθα, εἴ τῳ γένοιτο αὐτὸ τὸ καλὸν ἰδεῖν εἰλικρινές, καθαρὸν, ἄμικτον, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀνάπλεων σαρκῶν τε ἀνθρωπίνων καὶ χρωμάτων καὶ ἄλλης πολλῆς φλυαρίας θνητῆς, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ θεῖον καλὸν δύναται μονοειδὲς κατιδεῖν; ἄρ' οἶει, ἔφη, φαῦλον βίον γίγνεσθαι ἐκεῖσε βλέποντος ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἐκεῖνο ᾧ δεῖ θεωμένου καὶ συνόντος αὐτῷ; (Plat. *Sym.* 211d)

3. κάλλος δὲ τότ' ἦν ἰδεῖν λαμπρόν, ὅτε σὺν εὐδαίμονι χόρῳ μακαρίαν ὄψιν τε καὶ θέαν, ἐπόμενοι μετὰ μὲν Διὸς ἡμεῖς, ἄλλοι δὲ μετ' ἄλλου θεῶν, εἰδόν τε καὶ ἐτελοῦντο τῶν τελετῶν ἣν θέμις λέγειν μακαριωτάτην, ἣν ὠργιάζομεν ὁλόκληροί μὲν αὐτοὶ ὄντες καὶ ἀπαθεῖς κακῶν ὅσα ἡμᾶς ἐν ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ ὑπέμενεν, ὁλόκληρα δὲ καὶ ὑπλᾶ καὶ ἀτρεμῇ καὶ εὐδαίμονα φάσματα μυούμενοί τε καὶ ἐποπτεύοντες ἐν αὐγῇ καθαρᾷ, καθαροὶ ὄντες καὶ ἀσήμαντοι τούτου ὃ νῦν δὴ σῶμα περιφέροντες ὀνομάζομεν, ὁστρέου τρόπον δεδεσμευμένοι. (Plat. *Phaedr.* 250b)

I would ask anyone who feels in doubt to study the passages marked VIII. and IX. VIII. contains quotations from the end of the *Protagoras*, *Euthydemus* and *Crito*. Except for a charm of style never found in Xenophon there is nothing here that Xenophon might not have expressed in his own way. But

¹ If I mistake not, Professor Burnet, who in *Thales to Plato*, p. 154, dissents from this agreement, elsewhere lays stress on Lutoslawski's

stylistic canons; see also Professor Taylor, *Mind*, 1903, p. 20.

can anyone imagine Xenophon composing the substance of the passages in IX.? It is easy to understand how the author of the *Charmides* could develop into the beholder of the region above the heavens; Shakespeare wrote the *Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *King Lear*; Beethoven composed the early *Choral Fantasia* and the *Ninth Symphony*. But when one consistent character of Socrates is presented to us by Xenophon, by the early dialogues of Plato, and by the personal features in the later dialogues, and when this is confirmed by Aristophanes and Aristotle, it seems to me impossible to believe that the marvellous intellectual force and fervour of Socrates in the *Republic*—lacking in Xenophon and the early dialogues—can be anything other than the child of Plato's own genius.

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ON OVID *FASTI* VI. 271 sq.

ipsa uolubilitas libratum sustinet orbem,
quique premat partes angulus omnis abest.

I have discussed this couplet in relation to its context in *Class. Quart.* IV. 197 sqq. and in regard to Clemens Alex. *Strom.* VII. 45. 4 in *Class. Quart.* VIII. 247, where it is shown that in the whole passage Ovid is reproducing Stoic doctrine. In part however at any rate his theory is considerably older, as we may see from an illuminating parallel in Plato, *Phaedo*, p. 108 E, πέπεισμαι τοίνυν . . . ὥς πρῶτον μὲν εἰ ἔστιν ἐν μέσῳ τῷ οὐρανῷ περιφερὴς (Ovid's *uolubilitas*) οὐσα [ἡ γῆ] μηδὲν αὐτῇ δεῖν μήτ' αἶρα πρὸς τὸ μὴ πεσεῖν (*sustinet*) μήτ' ἄλλης ἀνάγκης μηδεμιᾶς τοιαύτης ἀλλὰ ἱκανὴν εἶναι αὐτὴν ἔχειν τὴν ὁμοιότητα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐαυτῷ πάντῃ καὶ τῆς γῆς αὐτῆς τὴν ἰσορροπίαν (the equilibrium secured by the absence of *anguli*, Clement's γωνίαι) ἰσόρροπον γὰρ πρᾶγμα ὁμοίου τινὸς ἐν μέσῳ τεθὲν οὐχ ἔξει μάλλον οὐδ' ἦττον οὐδαμῶσε κλιθῆναι ὁμοίως δ' ἔχον ἀκλινὲς μενεῖ.

J. P. POSTGATE.

LIVERPOOL,

January 19, 1918.

PLAUTVS, *POENVLVS* 1168.

How any editor of Plautus can become one of the slash-cut-and-carve critics I cannot understand. The fair garden-beds of Plautus are scored all over with the hoof-prints of the reckless emender. Take this line of the *Poenulus* for example. Hanno gets a sight of his two long-lost daughters and is surprised to find how they have grown :

Haecine meae sunt filiae?
Quantae e quantillis iam sunt factae !

His would-be son-in-law, not a very refined youth, says with a smile :

Scin quid est ?
Thraecae sunt : *in celonem* sustolli solent.

So the last line was deciphered (but with *Thraecae*) in the Ambrosian palimpsest by Studemund. In the archetype of our MSS. of the other recension it was :

Thraecae sunt : *columne* sustolli solent.

That there is a reference to the mares of Thrace (cf. the story of Diomede and Hercules) and that *in celōnem* is right (whether *in* be understood literally or in the sense 'after the manner of') is surely clear enough. (To Liddell and Scott s.v. κήλων add Gloss. Cyrill. 348, 66 Κήλων : ὁ ἐπιβαίνων ἵππος, *admissarius*.) If a reason be demanded for the corruption in our minuscule MSS., we may suppose that some corrector, puzzled by *celo*, conjectured *caelum* and entered a query in the margin 'caelumne ?' Of course, the archetype of our minuscule MSS. (including the *codex Turnebi*) was probably a mere codex of the ninth or tenth century.

And yet Goetz (usually more conservative than his co-editor Schoell) printed :

Thraecae sunt *eculae* : *numero* sustolli solent.

And Leo, following his wild theory that our two recensions go back to nothing more than a corrupt text of the play which was tinkered into shape by editors in the second or third century A.D., printed :

Tragicae sunt : *in calones* sustolli solent.

'Following' his theory do I say? Why, Pygmalion-like, he became so enamoured of this creation of his brain that he actually makes it an argument, one of his strongest arguments, for the truth of his theory. Plautus 'must' have written *tragicae*; therefore *Thraecae* 'must' be due to Roman editors of the play, who used some corrupt text which Valerius Probus had found in a second-hand bookshop at Beyrout. Leo's examples of 'errors common to the two recensions of Plautus' are disappearing one by one (cf. *Class. Quart.* VII. 6).

W. M. LINDSAY.

VERGILIANA.

Georg. I. 36 sq.:

quidquid eris,—nam te nec sperant Tartara regem,
nec tibi regnandi ueniat tam dira cupido;—

Mr. Page's note puts well what seems the customary view of this famous parenthesis: 'The force of *nam* deserves attention. Having used the phrase *quidquid eris*, which sums up the whole passage from line 24, as though there were no other form of deity left which Augustus could assume, Vergil adds this explanatory sentence to show why he had not mentioned the *fourth* division into which deities were divided, viz. those of the underworld. The fourfold division of deities being well known, Vergil cannot omit the fourth without stating the reason for which he does so.'

But this cannot be called satisfactory. In the first place, the 'fourfold division of deities' was not well known. Gods generally come under three classes, those of Heaven, the sea, and the underworld. In the second place—and here we come to an immense difficulty—these two lines seem amazingly maladroit. To be sure Vergil does not wish to imagine Augustus in Tartarus, but to say so is absurdly uncourtierlike. Nor is it any defence to maintain that since he has begun to recite the possible forms which the Emperor's deification may take, he is bound to continue to this inept end. It was his business to avoid entering such a *cul-de-sac*. Are we to suppose that in the exordium of his most finished work he would be content with a passage which needs an apology?

The key-word is *regem*. We know what *rex*¹ and the words cognate to it meant for Romans—callous inhuman irresponsible despotism. 'King' is of little use as a translation. 'Sultan' or 'tyrant' would be better. *Rex* is almost—I can think of no more refined phrase—a 'swear-word.' We all know this but are constantly forgetting it—though Horace's Satire (I. viii.) on Rupilius Rex should be enough in itself to keep the point plain. Thus the effect upon us of *te nec sperant Tartara regem* may be paraphrased: 'Do not descend to *Hell*, for of course *Hell* cannot expect you to go and rule over it;' and we half-consciously assume that *regem* means precisely the same kind of potentate as has been suggested for the other regions. As a fact, the emphasis falls, not upon *Tartara* only, but with terrific and absolutely equal force upon both *Tartara* and *regem*: the two words are placed side by side to throw light upon

¹ In the singular, of course: that his rule should be unshared is the chief point.

one another—a masterly and favourite device of Vergil's. His meaning is: 'Do not become a tyrant and for that purpose descend into Hell: there and there only¹ must you go if you wish for such hateful sovereignty.' Now one sees why the poet entered upon this discussion: his fourth alternative is not a tame evasion but a climax. After giving Augustus his choice among three noble types of sway, he takes occasion to warn him, voicing the fears of so many Romans, against the assumption of regal power; and with consummate skill uses the sequence of heaven, earth, sea, and hell, both to invest his admonition with solemnity and to turn reproof itself into stately homage.

If we work backwards over the whole passage we find him gently but steadily preparing for this effect. First of Heaven he writes (vv. 32-35):

Anne nouum tardis sidus te mensibus addas,
qua locus Erigonen inter Chelasque sequentis
panditur; ipse tibi iam bracchia contrahit ardens
Scorpions, et caeli iusta plus parte reliquit.

Caesar is not to be monarch of Heaven, but to find a place among the celestial hierarchy. As the editors point out, the Scorpion, with his Claws, at one time occupied two places in the Zodiac (Ovid, *Met.* II. 195-7); he made room later for the constellation Libra—the Balance, with which the just Emperor may identify himself if he so chooses. The last words mean, not 'he gives up to you more than your due share,' but 'he withdraws from what was more than *his* due share,' that is, he relinquishes his former overplus of space.

Next, as to the Sea (vv. 29-31):

an deus inmensi uenias maris, ac tua nautae
numina sola colant, tibi seruiat ultima Thule,
teque sibi generum Tethys emat omnibus undis.

Deus, of course, meant to Romans less, often far less, than 'God' to us; Hercules is a *deus*, so is Quirinus, but that fact need not be laboured. Even *numina sola* implies only that Caesar is to take into himself all the scattered beneficence and power of innumerable minor sea-spirits like Glaucus and Leucothea. There is no hint of brutal tyranny, and *seruiat* is surely not to be emphasized so far. We note in particular *generum*, the slight quaintness of which must have struck most readers; whatever else a son-in-law may be, he is not an irresponsible tyrant.

Of the Earth we read (vv. 25-28):

urbisne inuisere, Caesar,
terrarumque uelis curam, et te maximus orbis
auctorem frugum tempestatumque potentem
accipiat, cingens materna tempora myrto. . . .

This is clearer still. Here is the Roman, not the Oriental, conception of a ruler, one who shoulders titanic burdens (*curam*) of state, 'to scatter plenty

¹ The poet is thinking of the world as possible and the *peritura regna* (II. 498).¹
for Romans. He deliberately disregards Parthia

o'er a smiling land' (*auctorem frugum*), all his power used for the subject, not for himself. And in place of the Eastern diadem, he is crowned by the myrtle of love.

But most emphatic of all are the opening lines (vv. 24, 25) :

tuque adeo, quem mox quae sint habitura deorum
concilia, incertum est.

Deorum concilia is almost prosaic, so eager is the poet to make his intention plain at the outset. Even celestial rulers of the kind to which alone Augustus can belong carry out their functions in boards or associations.

Georg. I. 217 :

candidus auratis aperit cum cornibus annum
Taurus, et aduerso cedens Canis occidit astro.

(*Aduerso* has at least as good MS. authority as *auerso*.) I believe that Vergil, following his noble custom of associating lowly details with the most solemn ideas (e.g. in *mystica uannus Iacchi*, v. 166), here uses of the constellations language equally appropriate to the farmyard: he has often watched with a twinkling eye the ponderous threatening advance of a bull before which the yapping house-dog falls back upon his kennel, into which he finally whisks himself (*occidit*).

Georg. I. 498 sqq.:

di patrii, Indigetes, et Romule Vestaque mater,
quae Tuscum Tiberim et Romana Palatia seruas,
hunc saltem euerso iuuenem succurrere saeclo
ne prohibete! satis iam pridem sanguine nostro
Laomedontaeae luimus periuria Troiae.

The feeling which dictates this passage seems to have passed strangely unperceived. In Conington's fifth edition, for example, Professor Haverfield writes: 'Vergil's allusion here to Troy seems purely learned and literary.'

In the first two lines the emphasis is exceedingly strong—stronger perhaps than Vergil's exquisite frugality of taste has suffered him to be anywhere else. He is insisting upon the purely Italian origin, spirit, and history of Rome in opposition to the favourite doctrine of Trojan descent popular in his day, and made official by the policy of Augustus. There is no mention of Aeneas, who is so prominent in (e.g.) the *Carmen Saeculare*—only the local deities, streams, and hills. It is not enough to mention Tiber: he must be named 'Etruscan Tiber;' there is no reason whatever for the epithet unless to point the omission of Abana and Pharpar, the immemorially famous Xanthus and Simois. *Palatia* is not enough: it is the 'Roman Palatine,' not the glorious Mount Ida, but our own hill, however unknown to renown. Before that time *Palatia* had scarcely 'palatial' associations, but was only the hill sacred to Pales, the goddess of stables. No earlier racial hero is named than the founder of the city, no

deities save the *patrii Indigetes*, the native Italian gods, and Vesta, the spirit of the home. That Vesta according to one account (e.g. in *Aen.* II. 296) was brought with the Penates by Aeneas from Troy is not in point. She is naturally the localized deity of the hearth, and the poet here plainly associates her with the other indigenous powers.

In the last two lines comes the reason for this insistence. Instead of reciting the glories of Troy, Vergil points to the pride and sin which led that state into war and ruin, like that which in his own day seemed likely to annihilate Rome. The sonorous and stately line *Laomedontae luimus periuria Troiae*, opening with the long impressive name, is a gesture of horror. 'Let us cut ourselves free from the intolerable and crime-stained splendours of our legendary past and begin anew with our Italian gods, our local heroes, the streams and hills of home.' A new age is dawning, and to this he points by contrasting with his gorgeous *Laomedontae* the brief, utterly unadorned, word *iunuenem*.

That in the *Aeneid* Vergil expresses quite the opposite conception is no difficulty. Augustus' policy was to proclaim and emphasize the continuity of Trojan and Roman history; this was part of his great plan to unite his people by august traditions which flourished before the birth of civil discord. Hence all the writers of that age agree in tracing the history of Rome back to Troy. Livy's first sentence records the escape of Aeneas and Antenor from the sack of Troy—Antenor being 'added, no doubt, as the founder of the historian's birthplace. Horace (to quote only one passage, *Odes* IV. iv. 53 sqq.) puts into even Hannibal's lips reluctant eulogy of the race which passed forth undaunted from burning Ilium. Tibullus (II. v.) is moved by the celebration of the Secular Games to join the chorus. 'Haec,' says he of the Sibyl:

haec dedit Aeneae sortes, postquam ille parentem
dicitur et raptos sustinuisse Lares.
nec fore credebat Romam, cum maestus ab alto
Ilion ardentes respiceretque deos.

Even Propertius can find a moment for this theme (IV. i. 39 sq.):

huc melius profugos misisti, Troia, Penates.
o quali ducta est Dardana puppis aue! . . .
dicam, Troia, cades, et Troia Roma resurges.

Precisely similar is the prophecy of Carmentis in Ovid (*Fasti* I. 523 sqq.)

uicta tamen uinces, euersaque Troia resurges:
obruit hostiles ista ruina domos.
urite uictrices Neptunia Pergama flammae!
num minus hic toto est altior orbe cinis?
iam pius Aeneas sacra, et sacra altera, patrem
adferet: Iliacos accipe, Vesta, deos.

Even here we note that Vesta, at any rate, is Italian, not brought from Troy.

Of this historical policy the *Aeneid* is the most elaborate exposition,¹ but that the poet's own heart was not attracted thereto is shown by this noble and novel passage of the *Georgics*. Even in the epic we feel an under-current. Just as Horace mingles warning with his mention of Troy (*Odes* III. iii. 37-44, 57-63), so at the supreme crisis in the struggle between the Italians and the invaders Vergil's Juno obtains her final desperate request (XII. 823 sqq.) :

ne uetus indigenas nomen mutare Latinos,
 neu Troas fieri iubeas Teucrosque uocari,
 aut uocem mutare uiros, aut uertere uestem.
 sit Latium, sint Albani per saecula reges,
 sit Romana potens Italia uirtute propago ;
 occidit, occideritque sinas cum nomine Troia.

The same Italian patriotism gives to Turnus and his host whatever interest they may claim, and invests the Eighth Book with a subtler charm than any other part of the epic.

Georg. II. 123, 4 :

extremi sinus orbis, ubi aëra uincere summum
 arboris haut ullae iactu potuere sagittae.

Conington remarks : 'An apparent confusion between the notion of shooting through the air at the top of the tree, and shooting over the tree.' Hardly so. Of course the poet 'means' that one cannot shoot over the tree ; but what he chooses to say is different and fairly clear. That portion of air is a barrier which the arrow cannot overcome, its impetus being lost. We have here, in fact, one of the most masterly examples of subtle rhythm which Vergil, or anyone else, can show. The weak caesura *orbis ub* is not followed by the usual strong caesura in the fourth foot. Instead we have a dactyl contained in a single word—and a very light word, *aëra*—then yet another, *uincere*. Moreover *ubi* is on the point of giving us the strong caesura we expect, when its second syllable is elided at the opening of the fourth foot. Could anything better express the wavering of the spent arrow ?

Georg. II. 498, 9 :

neque ille
 aut doluit miserans inopem, aut inuidit habenti.

There has been much fumbling over this passage, merely because editors, it would seem, have assumed that *neque . . . aut . . . aut . . .* is the same as *neque . . . neque*. *Neque* negatives not *aut* but the whole sentence (cf. my note on I. 94-96, *Classical Review*, November, 1910). *Aut . . . aut* mean as usual that you cannot have both, but must have one. In city life, says Vergil, you must chose between riches (and despise yourself—*doluit*—as a swindler of the poor) and poverty (in which case you will be demoralized by class-hatred). There is no third way. Then the whole of this dilemma is negatived by *neque* :

¹ Extremely neat, for example, is the phrasing of III. 280 : 'Actiaque Iliacis celebramus litora ludis.'

in the country one² is *not* forced to this pitiable choice. Differences of wealth do not there produce class-divisions (cf. vv. 527 sqq. especially *socii*). It should be observed too that only in this way can we explain *ille*, which must be emphatic: the farmer is unlike the city-dweller.

Aen. II. 192 sqq.:

sin manibus uestris uestram ascendisset in urbem,
ultro Asiam magno Pelopea ad moenia bello
uenturam, et nostros ea fata manere nepotes.

Perhaps Vergil wishes to make Sinon prophecy more truly than he intends, foretelling the subjugation of Greece by the Roman descendants of the Trojan people.

Aen. IV. 393:

at pius Aeneas . . .

Aeneas' treatment of Dido has been endlessly discussed, but I believe that something remains to be said concerning Vergil's conception of his hero's situation and conduct. About Dido we are all agreed, and I have no wish to comment further on that magnificent picture. But the Trojan's weakness, treachery, and futility—what of these? Everyone detests him, if only for a moment. Henry, for instance, writes of 'the heartless, cold-blooded seduction of Dido by the hero of the *Aeneid*.' Why has Vergil elaborately defamed the figure which dominates his epic?

In a sense, there is no problem at all. To speak bluntly, the poet's basic conception of the plot in this book is quite simple, quite admirable, quite in accord with his whole design. Throughout the first half of the *Aeneid* he is shown pressing on through blunders, distractions, dangers, ceaselessly to Latium. At Carthage he finds his mightiest obstacle. To the Trojan Africa offers with one hand love, with the other a city already building. He is shown baffled and sorely tested by a supreme emotional temptation over which he triumphs at last. He suffers, but—here is the vital fact—none of his actions are his own. He, like Dido, is the tool of Heaven. At every point it is a god which rules the action. Juno, by the aid of Venus, forces Dido to love the stranger. During the storm which spoils the hunting party she forces Aeneas to become the Queen's lover. Mercury, at Jupiter's bidding, forces Aeneas to desert Dido. He *cannot* stay because he must hearken to the commands of Heaven: 'Italiam non sponte sequor' (v. 361). No blame whatever attaches to Aeneas. Such, as I said, is the poet's basic conception—terrible, noble, and consistent with the spirit of the whole *Aeneid*.

My reader is of course dissatisfied. But why? Because, as a fact, the basic conception has been badly carried out. Vergil's performance is pulled awry by two potent forces which reveal themselves as the action proceeds.

The first is his interest in Dido. She has grown on his hands far beyond the slight secondary figure he at first meditated—an earlier Lavinia—and

engages our attention more deeply than her lover. The case is precisely the same as in *The Merchant of Venice*. Our sympathies go all awry because in Shakespeare's despite (as it might seem) Shylock grows from the sordid scoundrel he first projected to a dominant and formidable stature: the end of the trial-scene is detestable, exactly as the close of Aeneas' final interview with Dido is detestable. So deeply do we care for the Queen that her sufferings, whatever justification the Trojan may claim, appear to wreck his credit for ever. We are deaf to the magnificent pathos of his own heartbreak (vv. 441 sqq.):

ac uelut annoso ualidam cum robore quercum
 Alpini Boreae nunc hinc nunc flatibus illinc
 eruere inter se certant; it stridor, et altae
 consternunt terram concusso stipite frondes;
 ipsa haeret scopulis, et, quantum uertice ad auras
 aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit;
 haud secus adsiduis hinc atque hinc uocibus heros
 tunditur, et magno persentit pectore curas;
 mens immota manet, lacrimae uoluuntur inanes.

Probably not one reader in twenty remembers these superb lines, because his ears are filled with—

saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset
 ante fugam suboles, si quis mihi paruulus aula
 luderet Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret,
 non equidem omnino capta ac deserta uiderer (vv. 327 sqq.)

Yet Vergil could feel for both, if we cannot.

The second reason is less obvious, but of still greater importance. We are not satisfied with Book IV. as a whole, simply because we do not believe in the gods. When we are not listening to Dido, we are thinking of Aeneas: at Jupiter, Juno, Venus, Cupid, and Mercury we glance dourly over our shoulder when they speak, and forget them utterly when their words are ended. But they rule the action.¹ Could we realize their existence and power as vividly as Dido's love and despair, our verdict on the poem would be altered completely. And here lies Vergil's vast failure—his one vast failure in this Book; he has not succeeded in making us believe as we read that Juno and the rest are even more real than Dido—and no less than that (one writes it with all respect) it was his plain business to do. We do not believe in Zeus and the inspiration of the Delphic oracle, but while reading the *Choephorae* we experience all the emotions which Aeschylus intended to arouse, not simply a horror of matricide. The weakness, then, of this Fourth Book is certainly not that Aeneas acts shamefully, but that Vergil, having pinned his every chance of success to our belief in the gods, has failed to produce that belief in us effectively.

¹ Even her suicide cannot be completed without the intervention of Iris.

Aen. VI. 210 sq.:

corripit Aeneas extemplo, avidusque refringit
cunctantem, et uatis portat sub tecta Sibyllae.

Cunctantem is perhaps the most difficult word in Vergil. Aeneas has been told (vv. 145-8) that if he is the man of destiny, the branch will break off in his grasp of its own accord—*ipse uolens facilisque sequetur*—otherwise not even with an axe can it be hewn from the tree. Of course any branch, or even flower-stalk, may be said *cunctari*, in the sense that the act of plucking implies resistance; else the branch would fall of its own weight. Even so *cunctari* is a strange and strong word to use. In our passage it seems as bad as bad could be. Conington's note sums up the case well, but with that deleterious timidity which by shrinking from candid expression of a difficulty so often prevents us from seeking and finding the solution: '*cunctantem* is not to be pressed, as we know from vv. 147 sqq. that it cannot really have offered any resistance, so that it must be taken as a correlative to *avidus*, Aeneas' eagerness being too great even for the willingness of the branch. Even thus however the choice of the word seems a little unfortunate.' *Non tali auxilio*. 'It cannot really have offered any resistance': then why say so? It is more than 'a little unfortunate;' so bad that, instead of giving the poet a nervous little tap, we must try to see why he uses a word which Bavius himself would have shunned in this context. A weak, poor expression one can attribute to Vergil without obvious absurdity, but not self-destructive nonsense. Henry in his trenchant manner writes: 'How what our author here tells us of the toughness of the branch is to be reconciled with what the Sibyl tells Aeneas at ver. 146, I know not. It is remarkable . . . that . . . two so point-blank opposite accounts should be given of the resistance of the branch.'

There is only one way out. The Sibyl was wrong. She supposed that the proposed enterprise was either utterly impossible or perfectly easy. Aeneas' experience with the golden bough shows that for him at least it was possible but difficult. He is a new type of hero. No doubt he himself at first believes that divine parentage is by itself a sufficient passport (vv. 119 sqq.):

si potuit Manes arcessere coniugis Orpheus,
Threicia fretus cithara fidibusque canoris,
si fratrem Pollux alterna morte redemit,
itique reditque uiam toties—quid Thesea, magnum
quid memorem Alciden? et mi genus ab Ioue summo.

He bases his claim solely on descent from Jupiter, as Orpheus was sprung from a Muse, Theseus from Neptune, Pollux and Hercules from Jupiter. This is not enough: other men born of gods have not known such privilege—Achilles for example.

The Sibyl believes the gift is given only to those who are (as Aeneas suggests)

sprung from gods *and* possess either the favour of Heaven (why, we are not told) or eminent virtue (vv. 129 sqq.) :

pauci, quos aequus amavit
Iuppiter, aut ardens euexit ad aethera uirtus,
dis geniti potuere.

Aeneas, we are to suppose, has not yet been 'raised to heaven by the flame of virtue'—his trials and triumphs in Italy are yet in the future—so that his case is doubtful. What enables him to wrench the reluctant bough from its trunk, and as it were to force Fate, is his *pietas*, not the descent from Jupiter which he himself boasts. This cause the Sibyl later recognizes (403-5). If one may misquote Lamb : 'Such power has filial love for a moment to suspend the else-irrevocable law.'

Aen. VI. 567 :

castigatque auditque dolos subigitque fateri.

Conington calls *castigatque auditque* a ὑστερον πρότερον, 'perhaps intended to express the summary character of Rhadamanthus' justice, punishment following at once on examination.' How? Is 'he ate his dinner and sat down to table' more 'summary' than the normal style? I do not believe there is any such monster in literature—Latin or other—as a ὑστερον πρότερον. When we light on an apparent example the proper course is to assume that the author is in his senses, and ask whether the passage cannot be understood in a reasonable way. Thus in *Aen.* II. 353, *moriamur et in media arma ruamus*, Conington gives a perfectly good explanation—the defeated Trojans must decide for death, as against escape, and fling themselves upon the swords of their foes. Similarly here : *castigo* does not only mean 'punish,' but 'chide' (cf. Caesar *B. Civ.* III. 55, *crebris Pompeii litteris castigabantur*; Livy XXVI. 20, *castigati tantum uerbis Boeoti*). Rhadamanthus is a kind of infernal Jeffreys, who reviles the prisoner as soon as he appears before his tribunal, next listens to his evasions (*dolos*), then extorts confession, and finally hands the sinner over to the Furies.

Another apparent ὑστερον πρότερον is XII. 924 sq. :

orasque recludit
loricae et clipei extremi septemplicis orbes,

since the spear of course met the shield earlier than the corslet. But *et* here is not the ordinary 'and (also)' but 'as well as' (cf. the usage of *καί*). This view of *et* clears up another troublesome little passage, *Aen.* III. 570 sq. :

portus ab accessu uentorum immotus et ingens
ipse; sed horrificis iuxta tonat Aetna ruinis.

Why 'huge, *but* close to the eruption of Etna?' The real antithesis lies between *immotus* and the frightful upheaval not far away. The intention of the passage is : 'There is a magnificent harbour, not only extensive, but sheltered

from gales. But this quiet sheet of water is in terrible contrast with an active volcano close by.'

Aen. XII. 473 sqq.:

nigra uelut magnas domini cum diuitis aedes
peruolat et pennis alta atria lustrat hirundo,
pabula parua legens nidisque loquacibus escas,
et nunc porticibus uacuis, nunc umida circum
stagna sonat : similis medios Iuturna per hostes
fertur equis, rapidoque uolans obit omnia curru.

It is pleasant to think that this exquisite simile, set with subtlety and skill in the midst of violence and horror, is a picture drawn from the poet's memory. One imagines him strolling in the courtyard of Maecenas' house before anyone else is astir—at any rate the *salutantes* who irked him so (*Georg.* II. 462) have not yet appeared (*porticibus uacuis*)—watching the busy little swallow which shows black against the marble colonnade as now it rises to the height of the pillars, now skims over the artificial pond which reminds both bird and poet of the country they have quitted.

Aen. XII. 546:

hic tibi mortis erant metae ; domus alta sub Ida,
Lyrnesi domus alta, solo Laurente sepulchrum.

Erant is not 'were,' but 'are after all'—the Greek *ἦσαν ἄρα* used of a long-standing fact only now recognized. (Cf. *Hor. Odes* I. xxvii. 19 and xxxvii. 4.) Aeolus has lived and fought in the Troad, facing death many times on his native soil ; but all the while the distant unthought-of place where he should die has been waiting for him. This interpretation is not merely more probable (since more vigorous) than to take *erant* as a simple historic ('here you died') : it is made certain by the word *metae*. The goal is fixed before the journey begins.

Ibid. v. 926 :

per medium stridens transit femur.

In which thigh was Turnus wounded? Vergil indicates this in v. 941 : *umero cum apparuit alto balteus*, where *alto* seems at first of little force, especially as the warrior has sunk to earth. Since the baldric passed from the sword at the left hip across the chest, the shoulder on which it appears must be the right. If this is *altus*, the other side must have sunk; the wounded thigh was therefore the left.

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PHAEDRIANA.

II.

THE NOVAE FABVLAE.

SINCE the time of Burman it has been amongst the aims of Phaedrian scholarship to endeavour to make good the imperfections of the direct tradition by recourse to the indirect. That losses have been sustained, one piece of evidence is enough to show. In the sixth line of his Preface to Book I. Phaedrus says that trees speak in his fables; but no trees speak in any fable now left to us, either in the five books as handed down in PR or in the *Perottine Appendix*.

Scholars have accordingly turned their eyes to the prose collections of the medieval fabulists, and attempted with more or less success to exhume the poems from this prose. I should follow their example without more ado or apology, were it not that a Latin scholar of repute, Professor J. Hartman, had challenged the legitimacy of the method. On p. 64 of his opusculum *de Phaedri Fabulis*, 1890, he asseverates that there is and can be no Latin sentence 'quin ex ea lenissima mutatione senarius Phaedrianus effici possit.' Amongst his illustrative examples is a conversion of the opening words of the *Gallic War* with just such a senarius:

in partes omnis tres diuisast Gallia.

The objection is but a shallow one, but it may as well be dealt with as it strikes at the root of our procedure.

Shortly then we are not here concerned with isolated sentences convertible into verses by simply shuffling their constituents, but with strips of apparent prose which by their phrasing, by the order of their words, or by both together, declare themselves to be something different, and which moreover are often metrical as they stand. The proofs of this may be sought in the following fables and their restorations. For an example it is enough to refer to lines 5, 6, 7 of 'the Gnat and the Bull.' It is no argument against the method that in some cases the metrical form cannot now be restored with completeness or with certainty. In the present article however I shall deal only with fables in which the state of our materials affords us a reasonable prospect of success.

For the sake of those to whom the subject is strange, and who would desire some assistance in controlling the application of the method, I give the

first fable as it appears in the direct tradition of the MSS. of Phaedrus and as it appears in the reproduction of Ademar, of all the 'paraphrasts' the one that on the whole stands closest to the Phaedrus original.

PHAEDRVS IN THE DIRECT TRADITION OF PR.

Ad riuum eundem lupus et agnus uenerant
 siti compulsi; superior stabat lupus
 longeque inferior agnus. tunc †face improba
 latro incitatus iurgii causam intulit.
 'quur' inquit 'turbulentam †mihi fecisti 5
 aquam bibenti.' laniger contra timens
 'qui possum quaeso facere quod †queris, lupe?
 a te decurrit ad meos haustus liquor.'
 repulsus ille ueritatis uiribus,
 'ante hos sex menses' ait 'male dixisti mihi.' 10
 respondit agnus 'equidem natus non eram.'
 'pater hercle tuus' † inquit 'male dixit mihi.'
 atque ita correptum lacerat iniusta nece.
 haec propter illos scripta est homines fabula
 qui fictis causis innocentes opprimunt.

3 Read 'fauce' with Ad.

9 Read 'quereris.'

10 Read 'male ait.'

ADEMAR 3 (Thiele, *d. lat. Aesop des Romulus*, No. III. pp. 12-15):

Lupus et agnus ad riuum uenerunt. superior lupus, longe inferior agnus. tunc fauce improba latro incitatus iurgio dixit. 'cur turbulentam fecisti mihi aquam?' laniger 'quo fieri potest dum a te liquor decurrens ad meum os uenit?' lupus 'ante hos sex menses male dixisti mihi.' respondit: 'non eram natus.' lupus 'pater tuus male dixit mihi.' et ita correptum lacerat iniuste—qui fictis causis innocentes opprimunt.

That, despite many prose expressions, this is not a composition in plain prose would be clear from the presence of e.g. *laniger* and *liquor* and by the concluding sentence which forms a senarius identical, as we see, with one of Phaedrus. Two other verses may be recovered without difficulty, one by adding *que* to *longe*, which is supported by another paraphrast's '*longeque inferius agnus*,' and a second by expanding the commonplace *iniuste* into an adjective and a noun. The omitted penultimate line is given, so far as sense goes, by the '*haec in illos (de illis) dicta est fabula*' of more than one of the paraphrast MSS. as may be seen from Thiele's apparatus *l.c.*

The importance of this scholar's contributions to the criticism of our author's work and that of the related medieval collections of fables render it incumbent on me to refer to his views upon this question. In his *Illustrated Latin Aesop*, p. 11, he had expressed discontent with the principle and results of these restorations. There he maintains that Romulus, i.e. the chief medieval or late Latin collection which passes under this, the name of its reputed

author, is to be sharply distinguished from Phaedrus and to be reconstructed by itself and to be used with the greatest caution for the restoration of lost fables. According to him the *Fabulae Nouae* in the editions of Burman, Dressler and L. Mueller have no real foundation because they sometimes used the Romulus texts, sometimes the 'Phaedrus' tradition in the Anonymus (Nilantii), otherwise Ademar, and sometimes combined them both, and in a footnote he includes Zander's 'ingenious' treatise *De generibus et libris Paraphrasium Phaedianarum* (1897) in the same censure. For Herr Thiele's warnings against incautious procedure we cannot be too grateful. We must never forget that in these reconstitutions (which by the way Herr Thiele does not altogether abjure himself) we tread on treacherous ground. But because we must walk warily, there is no reason why we should stand still. The truth or the falsity of Thiele's genealogy and history of the Romulus and other collections does not really concern the editor of Phaedrus. It is allowed that fragments and vestiges of the fabulist's work appear in all the collections. Whether they have got into them by the straight road of transmission or some cross-country route of importation (interpolation) is a matter of no moment, provided their ultimate origin is the Fables and provided that they are not derived from anything now extant elsewhere. The restorations of Burman and Mueller are unsatisfactory for quite other reasons. Burman's extensive knowledge of Phaedrus did not include a mastery of his metre. L. Mueller had this; but his arbitrary temperament led him astray. He took no pains to discover the original if it was not obvious at the first glance, and so his *New Fables of Phaedrus* are often only the metrical compositions of Lucian Mueller upon a given theme. In particular he failed to a greater degree than Burman in accommodating the phrasing of his versions to the diction of Phaedrus. The need for a patient regard to this may be illustrated by two examples. In the Fable of the Churlish Horse, v. 3, Burman displaces *large* by 'largiter,' Mueller by 'liberaliter,' and Thiele actually omits it altogether. It is however genuinely Phaedian, as may be seen from II. 6. 15 'large diuisit dapem.' The second example is a rejected conjecture of my own. In the Fable of the Town and the Country Mouse I had thought of introducing *aduenerunt* in the sense of 'they arrived'; but found on examination that the verb is not thus used by Phaedrus, who has it thrice but only in combination with *dies*. Let me add in conclusion that in part the method of restoration has been discredited from its being applied to compositions where the original metrical form is lost beyond recovery. M. Havet (p. 275) has shown a prudent reserve in not attempting to restore more than a portion of the Fable of the Ass and the Ox (Ademar 34).

In utilizing the evidence of Ademar and the other paraphrasts the following cautions should be observed. Poetical or semi-poetical words and phrases are frequently replaced in the paraphrasts by those of ordinary prose. Idioms and vocables of late, vulgar or even medieval Latin are substituted for those of classical Latinity. The expression is sometimes shorter than that of

Phaedrus, but oftener more diffuse. This is the case especially with the so-called 'Romulus' Fables. Lastly the MSS. in which they are presented swarm with textual corruptions, which it is a relief to find in many cases do not materially affect their testimony.

In my first attempts to restore the metrical form of these *Nouae Fabulae* of Phaedrus I used the texts of the paraphrasts as given in the second edition of Hervieux without referring to the reconstructions of my predecessors. On comparing my results with those of Burman, L. Mueller, Havet, Zander, Thiele, and others, I naturally found that some of my conclusions needed to be modified, especially by corrections of Hervieux' texts in the two volumes of Thiele already mentioned. On the other hand I found in several instances that I was in agreement with suggestions already put forward. In an inquiry like the present, which from its character and conditions permits considerable divergencies, such coincidences deserve particular attention, and should in fairness be placed to the general credit of the reconstructions in which they occur. I have therefore signalized them by means of an asterisk.

In order to save space I have in general used the abbreviations Ad for the fables of Ademar preserved in the Leiden MS., edited with a facsimile by G. Thiele under the title of *Der illustrierte Aesop* (1905), and R for the fables of all other collections in MSS., the readings of which are given in Thiele's *Der lateinische Aesop des Romulus* (1910).

The text of the fables I give in the versified restorations alone. Where no note is subjoined, my printed Latin text corresponds exactly to that which stands in the source.

I. THE GNAT AND THE BULL.

ADEMAR, No. 36. Thiele, *D. lat. Aesop d. Romulus*, No. LXXXIV. *Einleitung*, p. ccxxviii):

Culex cum taurum prouocasset uiribus,
 cuncti uenerunt ut spectaculum cernerent.
 tunc paruus 'satis est quod uenisti comminus;
 <nam> par tibi sum factus iudicio tuo.'
 hic se per auras sustulit penna leui 5
 lusitque turbam et tauri destituit minas.
 qui, si fuisset ualidae ceruicis memor,
 pudendum contempsisset aduersarium,
 materia ineptae nec fuisset gloriae.
 sibi famam minuit qui se indignis comparat. 10

2 My correction for *uenerunt cuncti populi ut spectacula cernerent* Ad. Thiele *d. illustr. Aesop*, p. 13, attacks *spectaculum cernere*; but see e.g. *Aetna* 600. *cuncti populi* could no doubt stand in the sense of 'all the world,' cf. F. Cramer *Archiv f. lat. Lex.* 6, pp. 349 sq.; but it has a vulgar smack and, if kept, involves Burman's improbable alteration *ut pugnam c.* The Phaedrus MSS. regularly change 'periculum' to the commoner 'periculum.' See I. 28. 11, II. 4. 13, II. 7. 14, etc.

3 *paruus* Birt*, *paruus culex* Ad. Cf. *culex* 413 'parue culex.' *satis est* Burman, Mueller* (App. 17. 6), *satis inquit habeo* Ad.

4 *nam par tibi sum factus* my correction for *paruus tibi factus sum* Ad. *nam* Burman, *par tibi sum factus nempe* Mueller.

6 *turbam* Burman*, *turba* Ad.

7 *qui* Mueller, *quod* Ad.

8 *contempsisset* (Burman) *aduersarium* Mueller*, *contempserat inimicum* Ad. The correction is certain. The indicative is late Latin; for *aduersarius* cf. Phaedr. App. 11. 3.

9 *materia ineptae* (*uanae materia* Birt) *nec fuisset gloriae* Heraeus, *et ineptae matheria non fuisset gloriatio* (a trite synonym for *gloria*) Ad. I had already conjectured 'materiae ineptae (gen.) *nec fuisset gloria*'; but Heraeus' restoration seems better, cf. Lucan 8. 76 'laudis materia.'

10 *sibi famam minuit* Birt*, *quia ille sibi famam diminuit* Ad.

II. THE CHURLISH HORSE.

(ADEMAR only 58, Thiele No. LXXII., *Einleitung*, p. ccxvii.)

Equum rogabat asinus pauxillum hordei.

<sonipes> 'libenter,' inquit 'si possem, darem,
pro dignitate et nostra large tribuerem.'

sed cum uenerimus uespere ad praesepia
folliculum farre plenum donabo tibi.

5

asellus autem 'qui rem tam paruam negas,
quid in maiori te facturum existimem?'

1 *rogabat* Burman*, *cum rogaret* Ad. *pauxillum h.* my correction, *parum sibi h.* Ad. *pauxillum* is glossed as *paru(u)m* in *Corp. Gl.* IV. 374. 42, V. 472. 36, 130. 3 (*paullulum* Burman), *particulam* Mueller.

2 I have added the appropriate *sonipes* from IV. 4. 3. A subject can hardly be dispensed with.

darem is my correction for *dare* which Ad. has between *hordei* and *libenter*, *darem* having been shifted in order to go with *libenter*.

3 *pro d. et* my correction, *et pro d.* Ad.; for the postponed *et* cf. III. 7. 10.

4 *uespere ad praesepia* Burman*, *ad pr. uespere* Ad.

5 *folliculum f. pl. donabo tibi* is my correction, *dabo tibi folliculum plenum farre* Ad., *dabo hercle pl. f. folliculum tibi* Birt.

6. *asellus autem* (cf. App. 14. 11) my correction, *et asellus* Ad., *cui contra asellus* Mueller.

After 7 Ademar adds as a 'moral' 'qui cum magna promittunt, parua negant. est in dando nolens, tenax sollicitando,' the metrical form of which (if it was part of the original fable), is now irrecoverable.

In the next four Fables Ademar is our mainstay, but R in various branches may be drawn on to a certain extent.

III. THE ARROGANT HORSE.

(ADEMAR 37, Thiele, No. LIII. *Einl.* p. ccxv., Havet, p. 275.)

Ademar has to be our basis, the versions of R being very diffuse.

<Forma superbus,> insolens phaleris equus
asino occurrit, qui fatigatus malis

quia transeunti tardius dederat uiam,
 'uix me' inquit 'teneo quin te rumpam calcibus.'
 reticuit ille et gemitu testatur deos. 5
 equus currendo ruptus paruo in tempore
 ad uillam est missus. hunc onustum stercore
 ut uidit asinus, tali eum inrisit modo:
 'quid gloriose quondam <cum> phaleris tibi,
 modo ad contemptam <qui> redisti miseriam?' 10

1 Ad. has left out the beginning of the fable as the halting metre shows. Havet supplies 'auro frenatus' from the long-winded R versions 'equus quidam ornatus freno ex auro atque argento, sella et nacco pretioso satis decorus membra iuuenta occurrit asino'; but *forma superbus* seems to give a better antithesis. *membris decorus* is possible.

2 *as. occucurrit* Havet, *asino occurrit* Ad., *occ. as.* Heraeus.

3 *quia tr. t. dederat u.* Havet, *tr. t. dedit u.* Ad., *quia illi tr. dederat u.* R.

4 *uix me inquit teneo* Havet, *uix i. me teneo* Ad. *quin* Burman, *ut non* Ad.

8 *ut uidet asellus* Havet, who inserts from the R paraphrasts *ingredi per semitam*] *in prato pascens* (*prato ipse pascens* would be better, as Phaedrus is as fond of not inserting *in* with the ablative as the paraphrasts are of inserting it). But the shorter version seems more in the fabulist's style.

modo is my correction, cf. IV. 1. 9, *uerbo* Ad., *uoce* or *sono* (?) from III. 18. 9 R, *ioco* Burman, *uoce increpat* Havet.

9 *quid gl. qu. cum phaleris tibi* is my correction for *quid tibi gl. quondam falevis* Ad., *cum* having fallen out after *-dam*; cf. for the colloquial *quid tibi . . . cum* Cic. *Quinct.* 55 '*quid mihi, inquit, cum sanctimonia et diligentia?*' *gloriose* is of course the vocative.

10 *qui* omitted in Ad. was added by Burman. *modo* is to be taken with *contemptam*.

IV. THE WOODMAN AND THE TREES.

(ADEMAR 44, Thiele No. LXIV. pp. 210 sqq., *Einl.* p. xlvii.)

Probably this fable belonged to Book I. * See above p. 151. Thiele bases his restoration of the Phaedrus fable on the Weissenburg MS. ('Ph[aedrus] restitut[us]=r[ecensio] W.') f. Ad. he classes here with the R paraphrases, thus greatly obscuring its special value. Neither the procedure nor its results commend themselves, and in my reconstitution I shall use his materials without the trammels of his hypotheses.

Facta homo securi ab arboribus sibi postulat
 ligno manubrium quod foret firmissimo.
 dari iusserunt <ex> oleastro ceterae.
 securi aptato ramos <ille> ac robora
 qua libuit magna intrepide coepit caedere. 5
 tum fraxino sic quercus 'merito plectimur,
 caecae hosti dedimus quae roganti manubrium.'

1 *Facta h. sec.* my restoration, *securi facta homo* or *h. s. facta* R, *securis cum fuisset facta* Ad.

postulabat ab arboribus (ab arb. postulavit, postulabat arbores Ad.) *ut illi manubrium darent* (sibi manubrium dare, man. ex illis sibi dari) Ad. R. ab. a.s. *postulat* is my restoration.

2 My restoration for *de ligno quod esset* (erat) *firmum* (omnium firmior, read *firmius*, Ad.) Ad. R. Ad.'s lection suggests the superlative.

3 I have restored chiefly by the help of Ad. *oleastro iusserunt cetera* (for *ceterae*) taking *dari* from the previous context, *omnes oleastrum* (oleastro) *iusserunt dare* R.

4 *sumpsit* (accepit) *homo manubrium*, an insertion in Ad. and most of R before the next sentence. It was an expansion of the curt though clear expression of Phaedrus.

abastatum (for *adaptatum* Wölfflin Archiv. f. lat. Lex. IV. 324) *securi*, in *securim coaptato* (manubrio), *apta securae* R, *aptata secure* (Ad.) from which combined I have deduced *securi aptato*. *ille*, which I have added, is necessary for the sake of clearness; it is represented by the *homo* of Ad. and R.

ramos et (or *ac* R) *roborata magna* Ad. R, though the Weissenburg MS. omits all except *roborata*. *magna*, which seems genuine, must stand in the next line.

5 *omniaque quae uellet* Ad., *omniaque q. uoluit, et omnia q. uolebat* R from which I have restored *qua libuit*; cf. 'ubi libuit' 'quo libuit' Pliny. *indubiose* Ad., *indubius* or *indubitanter* R, which last is (Corp. Gloss. IV. 357. 15) a gloss on the *intrepide* I have restored.

coepit incidere Ad., *c. decedere* Weiss. The compounds meet in the simple *caedere*, Thiele's conjecture.

6 *tum* I have written for the *tunc* of R (*sicque* Ad.), *quercus fraxino ait* Ad. or *q. fr. sic ait* R, *sic q. dixisse fertur* Weiss. on which Mueller builds. *merito plectimur* I have restored from I. 31. 13 *digne et iuste* (Ad., *bene* R) (*haec*) (*nos*) *patimur* Ad. R.

7 *qui* (*quia*) *roganti hosti nostro* (*ut*) *caeci* (om. Ad.) *manubrium* (-ia) *dedimus* Ad. R, which I have corrected, *nostro* not being wanted and *caecus* being metaphorical in Phaedrus. *iure istud patimur dedimus quae manubrium* Mueller; but this scansion is less likely in Phaedrus. See the exx. in Havet, § 82.

V. THE TOWN MOUSE AND THE COUNTRY MOUSE.

(ADEMAR 13, Thiele No. XV., *Einleitung*, p. ccx sq.)

This story is perhaps best known from the Horatian version, S. 2. 5. 59 sqq., which shows few agreements in diction with Phaedrus. Our fable is on the whole faithfully reproduced in Ademar; but corrections and supplements in parts may be derived from the prolix versions of R.

Hospitio quondam mus urbanus rustici
exceptus glandem cenat; dein rediens domum
perduxit precibus secum in urbem rusticum.
simul uenere, opulentam subierunt domum
cellamque intrarunt multiplici plenam dape; 5
in qua dum uariis perfruuntur reliquiis,
impulso se infert ostio cellarius.
urbanus noto facile se abscondit cauo,
at miser ignota rusticus trepidat domo,
mortemque metuens per parietes cursitat. 10
ast ubi quae uoluit sustulit cellarius
clausitque limen, iterum urbanus rusticum
ad escam hortatur, ille pauidus 'uix queo.
censen redibit?' alter 'tantum ergo times?'

haud <temere> has inuenire delicias potes.
 respondit 'curis glans me pascat liberum.'
 utilius secum est in pauperie uiuere
 quam diuitiarum carpi sollicitudine.

15

1-2 *Hospitio* . . . *exceptus* Burman*, *Hosp. qu. m. urb. exceptus est rustici* Ad., *glandem cenat* my correction, *et humili glande coenauit causam perfecit* (which last is merely a corruption of *cenam perf.*, a gloss on *cenauit*) Ad.

dein rediens domum (omitted in Ad.) my supplement from R's *deinde mus urbanus rediens murem agrarium rogabat uenire secum ad prandium*.

3 *secum* my correction from R (above), *post* Ad.

4 not in Ad. but seemingly necessary.

simul uenere 'as soon as they arrived' with the Phaedrian use of *simul* = *simul ac* and of *uenio* (*App.* 14. 22) and *opulentam* (*honestam* R 'rich'; see Rönsch *Itala u. Vulgata*, p. 332; cf. *locuplete domo* Hor. *l.c.*) are my corrections, *uenere in urbem et lautam subierunt* (*App.* 14. 21) *domum* Mueller. Both corrections are based on R *factumque est ut simul uenirent ingrediuntur ambo* (*in*) *honestam domum, qui uero uenerunt in urbem hones < tam > subierunt domum*.

5 *cellam* Ad., *cellarium* R.

intrarunt Mueller, *intrauit* Ad.

omnibus plenum bonis R, *plurimo refertam cibo* Ad., discordant readings and both of them substitutes for a less obvious original. My *multiplici* . . . *dape* is from Catullus 64. 304. Phaedrus has *dapem* twice.

6 So Burman, *i. q. d. u. perfruitur* Ad., omitting *reliquiis* (I. 22. 6 'ut fruaris reliquiis'), which is indicated by R's 'sic ait' *fruere mecum, amice, quae nobis cotidie superant cumque multis cibariis uterentur* (*cum multa uaria utuntur* W).

7 So Burman (*uenit*) except that *se infert* is my correction, *hostiis cellarario repulsis* Ad. *impello* however is the proper compound as in Petronius 16, 99, and it is indicated by R *uenit cellararius festinans* (= *se infert*) *et ostium cellarii impulit. repulsis* would be more appropriate of the door fastenings, Ov. *Met.* 2. 157. For the correct singular *ostium* see Petronius 16 'ostium non satis audaci strepitu exsonuit impulsus,' and so 99. *hostiis* Ad. seems to owe its plural to attraction by the lost *reliquiis*.

cellarius Burman*, *cellarius*, etc., Ad. R.

8 *noto* . . . *cauo* Heraeus*, cf. II. 4. 17, *nota* . . . *camerna* Ad., *notis* . . . *cauernis* W, *notis* . . . *cauis* Burman.

9 So Burman* (*trepidans r.*), *at m. rusticus trepidat ignota d.* Ad.

10 *per p.* (*per diuersa loca*) R, *circa p.* Ad.

11 *ast* (or *at*) *ubi* R, omitted by Ad., *ut* Burman.

quae uoluit s. c. I take from *cellarius q. uoluit* s. Ad., *quae uolebat* (R) s. c. Burman.

12 So Ad., *cellarii* (*h*) *ostium clausit* or the like R.

13 *ad e. h.* so Ad.

ille pauidus uix queo is my correction for *at ille uix possum ualde perterritus* Ad. *uix queo* is treated as *non places*, *haud queo* (Sen. *Phoen.* 146) Havet § 58.

14 *censen* 'redibit?' my correction for *putasne ueniet?* Ad., but *ueniet* cannot mean 'return'; for the corruption cf. on III. *Epil.* 12, p. 95 sup. For the colloquial *censen*?, for which *putasne?* is an obvious substitute, see Terence *Eun.* 217, Pers. 5. 168.

alter tantum ergo times my correction for *ille* (due to the previous *ille*) *tantum ergo metuens ait* Ad., (*ille*) *quid tantum times?* Burman.

15 My correction for *haud has tu poteris in. del.* Ad.

For *haud temere*, which here means *non facile* as *non temere* frequently, see V. *Aen.* 9. 375; *haud has tibi in. del. potes* Thiele, who doubts whether the sentence comes from Phaedrus.

16 *cui respondit Ad.*, but *cui* is not necessary; see V. 3. 6. *cura glans me p. liberum* my correction for *me glans securam p. et liberam* (a thoroughly 'paraphrastic' expression) *Ad.*

The insertion of 3 (2) verses, elicited from R, by Burman and Mueller, does not appear to be warranted. The curt expression is characteristic of our author.

17 My correction for *quia* (merely an introductory conjunction of *Ad.*, cf. No. VI.) *melius est in paupertatula* (a late Latin diminutive) *sua secum uiuere Ad.*, in *paupertate tutum praestat uiuere* Burman.

18 So *Ad.*

R prefixes the whole moral to the fable (cf. No. VI.) in the form *securum in paupertate uiuere melius esse quam diuitem taedio macerari per hanc breuem auctoris probatur fabulam*, or more shortly *securius uiuit pauper quam diues*, where *securum* has apparently come from *secum*, a trace of which is found in the doublet appended to some of the R versions *diligant homines frugalem uitam et securi uiuent (erunt) in sua casella*.

VI. THE 'NEUTRAL' BAT.

(ADEMAR 38, Thiele No. LIV. p. 173, *Einleitung* p. ccxv.)

Ademar is here again our chief stay, the R paraphrasts having a different version of the fable.

Bellum gerebant uolucres cum quadrupedibus
et modo uincentes uincebantur denuo.

<at> uespertilio, dubios euentus timens,

<aciem> quam primo superiorem uiderat,

ad eam se conferebat <fortunae comes.>

5

<mox res> in pacem cum redisset pristinam,

utrique generi fraus detecta apparuit.

damnatus ergo tam pudendo crimine

lucem refugiens tenebris se atris condidit.

qui se duabus partibus commiserit,

10

utrubique ingratus uiuet et turpis sibi.

2 *uincebantur denuo* my correction for *Ad.*'s *iterum uincebantur*.

3 *at* added by Burman*.

4 *aciem* Zander*, omitted in *Ad.*

quam Zander*, *quem* *Ad.* after *superiorem*.

primo superiorem my correction, *superiorem fieri* Zander, *superiorem quem primo* *Ad.*

uiderat Zander, *uidisset* *Ad.* with a vulgar confusion of moods.

5 *fortunae comes* an elegant though necessarily uncertain supplement of Zander.

6 *mox res* my supplement; for *res . . . redisset*, the sense of which is given by *Ad.*'s *redissent*, cf. Livy 6. 6. 3, etc., Lucr. 3. 910 'ad somnum si *res* redit atque quietem.' App. 5 seems to show that Phaedrus had read Lucretius 3. 980 sqq.

7 *utrique* Burman*, *utroque* *Ad.*

detecta Zander, *decepta* *Ad.*

9 *tenebris se atris condidit* Zander*, *a. se condidit t. noctis* *Ad.*, perhaps *nocte se atra condidit*. But something quite different is indicated by the paraphrasts that give the other version. These have 'sententia auium damnatur eo quod suos reliquerat ut lucem fugiat semper exspoliatusque plumis ut noctibus uolet nudus,' which points to *tenebris implumis uolat*, certainly an appropriate penalty. Perhaps *Ad.*'s reading has

come from *tenebris in pullis*, a corruption of *inplumis*, *uolat* being taken as a historic present.

10, 11 The 'moral' also shows divergence between Ad. and R. Ad. gives at the end of the fable '*quia quisquis a duabus partibus se uindicari desiderat, utrisque ingratus turpiter uiuit*,' while R prefixes '*qui se duabus partibus obnoxium commiserit, hic et illic ingratus uiuit et reus potius erit sibi*.' These morals clearly have a common element as Thiele has seen, though he supposes conflation. My restoration is based upon the convergences of *utrisque* and *hic et illic* on *utrubique* and of *reus sibi* and *turpiter* on *turpis sibi*, 'bringing discredit on himself.'

If Ad. is to be exclusively regarded, Burman's *qui se duabus uenditabit partibus | utrisque ingratus uitam deget turpiter* (cf. I. 3. 2 al.) seems satisfactory.

VII. THE RELAPSING VIXEN OR NATURE WILL OUT.

(Thiele No. XCVII., *Einleitung* p. ccxx.)

The subject of this fable, preserved in the Weissenburg MS. (W) and the Vindobonensis lat. 303 (V), is the behaviour of a female fox whom Jupiter had made a woman and a bride. It is in general that of the Aesopian Fable No. 149 in Halm, though there are differences in details.¹

Zeὺς ἀγασάμενος ἀλώπεκος τὸ συνετὸν τῶν φρενῶν καὶ τὸ ποικίλον τὸ βασιλείου αὐτῇ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων ἐνεχείρισε. βουλόμενος δὲ γινῶναι εἰ τὴν τύχην μεταλλάξασα μετεβάλετο τὴν ἔξιν, φερομένης ἐν φορείῳ, κἀνθ' αὐτὴν παρὰ τὴν ὄψιν ἀφῆκεν. ἡ δέ, ἀντισχεῖν μὴ δυναμένη, ἐπειδὴ περιέπτατο, τοῦ φορείου ἀναπηδήσασα ἀκόσμως συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπειρᾶτο, καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ἀγανακτήσας κατ' αὐτῆς πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν τάξιν ἀποκατέστησεν.

ὁ λόγος δηλοῖ ὅτι οἱ φαῦλοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κὰν τὰ προσχήματα λαμπρότερα ἀναλάβωσι, τὴν γοῦν φύσιν οὐ μετατίθενται.

The essential part of both fables is *the transformation of the Fox*; and this is removed by those who, following the corrupt tradition of vv. 2-3, make *Jupiter transform himself*, in conformity with his better known practice in amatory adventures.

Naturam turpem nulla fortuna obtegit.
Humanam in speciem cum uertisset Iuppiter
<maritus> uulpem, ut legitimo sedit toro,
scarabaeum uidit prorepentem ex angulo
notamque ad praedam desiliuit celerius.
superi risere grande, at erubuit Pater
uulpemque repudiatam thalamis expulit,
his prosecutus 'uiue quo digna es modo,
quia digna nostris esse meritis non potes.'

5

2 *Humanam in sp.* Gude, *in hum. sp.* V, *hum. sp.* W.
uertisset Gude, *se u.* W.

3 *maritus* 'would-be husband,' 'lover' is my addition; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4. 35, Propertius 2. 21. 10 (= *amator*, v. 4, which would be also possible here).

¹ The theme is differently handled in Aesop Mouse.
No. 88 (Halm), 'Aphrodite, the Weasel and the

4 *ut legitimo* my correction, *legitimis ut* W, V gives the general sense '*et uulpem quasi legitimo* (which indicates *ut legitimo*) *thoro sibi adsidere fecisset*' (there is space for a single word before *thoro* as after *siluit* below).

There is no difficulty in the change of subject as *sedit* can only refer to the bride; cf. Propertius 4. 11. 85 sq. '*seu tamen aduersum mutarit ianua lectum*|| *sederit et nostro cauta nouerca toro.*'

5 *prorepente* W. V has a curious variant '*uidit illa scrabonem prorepentem ex arbore*' apparently for *crabronem*; cf. Thiele in *Hermes* 43, pp. 345 sqq.

6 *desiliuit celerius* my correction for *celerius siluiuit* W, *celerius siluit* V, *celerius prosiliuit gradu* Gude. For the form *-siluiuit* cf. *desiliuit* Columella 6. 24. 3, *exsiliuit* Pliny 9. 55, Seneca *N.Q.* 2. 49. 3, *transiliuit* Pliny 29. 9. For the verse ending compare *diutius* I. 2. 16, *facilius* I. 20. 4, *uolidius* I. 19. 8, 24. 9, etc.

superi risere grande is my correction for *superi gradu risere* W, . . . *hinc superi* V. For *grande*, which represents the γέλως ἄσβεστος of Homer *Il.* 1. 599, *Od.* 8. 326, cf. Mart. 1. 3. 7 al. '*grande "sophos,"*' and for the acc. Pers. 5. 190 '*crassum ridet Vulfenius.*'

at er. Pater my correction for *magnis* (which has come from *grandis*) *er. pater* W, *et pater Iupiter* (a gloss on *pater*) *erubuit* V, *superi risere*; *magnis er. pater* Gude: but *pater* in this connexion does not need an epithet, IV. 12. 6. '*superi risere*' is in Ovid *Met.* 4. 188.

7 *thalamis expulit* V, *taliximis expudit* W.

8 *uade modo quo digna es* V.

9 So Gude, *quia digne nostris meritis non potest esse* W, *q. digna nostr. mer. non esse non potes* V.

J. P. POSTGATE.

LIVERPOOL,
January 5, 1918.

THE MSS. OF SENECA'S TRAGEDIES.

CHARLES ERSKINE STUART's studies of the MSS. of Seneca's tragedies are known to readers of the *Class. Quart.* from his two articles (V., 1911, pp. 32 sqq., and VI., 1912, pp. 1 sqq.). Before he died he expressed a wish that his collations and notes should pass to me.

Other scholars used to draw upon his information, and his answers to their questions were prompt and full. As far as my knowledge and my leisure serve, I wish to carry on this correspondence; or, if copious details of any MS. are desired, I will do my best to put his notebooks themselves at the disposal of the inquirer, in the Library of this College or elsewhere.

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NOTES ON THE CONSONANTS IN THE GREEK OF ASIA MINOR.

THE ASPIRATES.

THE change of the Greek aspirates into the voiceless spirants of the modern language was already beginning to appear in some of the ancient dialects.¹ The intermediate stage in this development is naturally that of affricates, *ph*, *th*, *kh*, becoming *pf*, *tp*, *kx* respectively, a stage seen in such spellings as *μετηλλακχότα*.² The evidence of the inscriptions shows that the change was not readily effected in Attic,³ and the clearest mark of this conservatism is the interchange of aspirates and tenues.

The *Κοινή* inscriptions of Asia Minor furnish striking evidence of the value attached to the aspirates there during the early centuries of our era. An examination of the inscriptions belonging to the area, which may be taken to correspond roughly with the limits of ancient Phrygia, shows a steady confusion over a great extent of it between the aspirates *φ*, *θ*, *χ*, and the tenues *π*, *τ*, *κ*. Such spellings as *ἀδελποί*, *φρεσβύτερος*, *τυγάτηρ*, *μηθρί*, *κάριν*, *γυναιχί*, occur constantly, proving that the aspirates during the period of the inscriptions, which extends to 4 A.D., and in the region where the examples are found, had a non-continuous, not a spirantal, value. The same confusion, pointing to the same conclusion, prevailed in other parts of Asia Minor. Among Greek borrowings in Armenian, too, we find forms like *akat* (*ἀκάτης*), *elike* (*ἐλικίας*), *natrum* (*νίτρον*).⁴ The cause underlying this confusion cannot be stated, since we lack knowledge of the phonology of the native, pre-Hellenic languages of the interior of Asia Minor. It may be suggested that the non-Greek peoples failed to give sufficient prominence to the second element in the pronunciation of the Greek aspirates, viz., the breath-expulsion, and consequently gave them values approaching those of simple tenues. The aspirate was, in all probability, foreign to the native Phrygian language; the I. Eur. aspirates had been reduced in it to non-aspirated mutes. With Gk. *φέρω* is connected Phr. *αββερετ*, with Gk. *ἔθηκα*, *θετός*, Phr. *αδακετ*, (*α*)*δατεα*.⁵ But whatever may have been the precise values of the Greek aspirates on the lips of the non-Greek peoples of Asia Minor, it is clear that they were nearer the tenues *p*, *t*, *k* than the spirants *f*, *þ*, *χ*.

¹ For its earliest appearance see Schmidt, *KZ.* 32. 341 sq.

² See Brugmann, *G.G.*,⁴ 123.

³ Meisterhans-Schwyzer, 76.

⁴ See Thumb, *Byz. Zft.* ix. 412.

⁵ Brugmann, *Grundriss*² i. 2, 650.

Do the inscriptions yield any signs that the normal Greek development to spirants by way of affricates was asserting itself in Asia Minor? The almost complete absence of inscriptions after the fourth century renders it impossible to deal adequately with the question. But if we regard the geographical distribution of our examples within the area already referred to, it is seen that the interchange of aspirate and tenuis occurs in the great majority of cases in the eastern and south-eastern parts—the north Lycaonian plain, the district around Iconium, the valley of Phrygia Paroreios, the district of Phrygia ad Pisidiam, and the Killanian Plain.¹ These districts, in all of which, except the last named, inscriptions in the native Phrygian have been found, largely consisted of great imperial estates; they were regions comparatively remote, lying outside the main stream of Greek influence. On the other hand, of the cities of S.W. Phrygia, where this influence was specially strong, Hierapolis alone gives a fair number of examples. Of the others, Colossae supplies the form *Ρούπου*, and Apamea the form *θεθήσεται*, which may be explained as due to a tendency towards simple reduplication.² The inscriptions of Laodiceia and Eumeneia give no instances. To this purely negative evidence that side by side with the retention in some districts of their non-continuous values the aspirates, under the levelling influence of intercourse with other parts of the Hellenistic world, were pursuing the normal Greek development, we may add the single piece of positive evidence which is supplied by the form *ἐλληπφῶς* in an inscription of Hierapolis.³ With regard to the Greek loan-words in Armenian, Thumb (*op. cit.*) remarks that, in contrast with the earlier practice of representing Greek *φ*, *χ*, *θ* by *p^c*, *k^c*, *t^c* and the occasional confusion with *p*, *k*, *t*, an effort was later (after 10 A.D.) made to represent the spirantal value of *φ*, *χ* by using *f* for the former, *x* and *š* for the latter. We may therefore presume that in the later *Κοινή* of Asia Minor the Greek aspirates had two sets of values, the one (non-continuous) due to their pronunciation by the native peoples, the other (tending to become, and eventually becoming spirantal) reflecting general *Κοινή* tendencies, and threatening to oust the former. The position is not surprising in the Greek of a land of which the people were at the same time non-Hellenic and in close contact during the late Roman and early Byzantine periods with the general Greek world.⁴

The fact that no special attempt was made to represent a spirantal pronunciation of *θ* in the loan-words in Armenian probably shows that the non-continuous value of *θ* was maintained with greater persistence than that of *φ* or *χ*. Here again our ignorance of the native phonology forbids an explanation. It is noteworthy that in some of the local Greek dialects of modern Cappadocia *θ* frequently has the value of a simple tenuis.⁵ In the dialect of Ferteke it regularly has this value, whether it stands alone or in combination with a continuous sound. In the latter case, which will be

¹ See Anderson's map of Asia Minor—Mur-ray's *Handy Classical Maps*.

² Cf. the form *ἐπιζεζηνέοις* in an inscription of Julia Ipsos.

³ *J.H.S.*, 1897, p. 411, No. 148.

⁴ See Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, p. 195.

⁵ Dawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 74 sqq.

treated separately, it is a *tenuis* in all the dialects. May we not see in this phenomenon of the modern dialects a partial survival of an ancient phonetic peculiarity? Persistence of this kind is not unusual in the history of language. One may compare the history of Latin *ǣ*, to which the Kelts of N. France gave the *æ* value of their own *ǣ*—a change which has led to further modifications, such as the palatalization of a preceding guttural: e.g. French *cher* from Latin *carus*.¹ Mr. Dawkins (*op. cit.*, p. 79) gives the general explanation of this, as of the other values (*χ*, *σ*) of *θ* in these dialects, that the people, from constantly speaking Turkish, found a difficulty in pronouncing the Modern Greek spirant *þ*, which is foreign to Turkish. But the loss of any of the distinct phonetic sounds of an older native language by the natives themselves on account of the influence of a later adopted language does not seem to be one of the results of bilingual conditions. The absence of the spirants *δ*, *θ*, and velar *γ* in the Greek of Terra d'Otranto, to which Mr. Dawkins refers, must be attributed to the phonology of the native Italians of that region rather than to Modern Italian. He points out, too, the objection that this treatment of *θ* is found in villages which contain no Turks. We would suggest, in view of the early difference of treatment apparent in the loan-words in Armenian, that the natives of Asia Minor themselves always found spirant *θ* a more difficult sound to acquire than spirants *φ* and *χ*, and that the variety of sounds in which the ancient aspirate has issued in the modern dialects is a reflection of this difficulty.

TENUES AND MEDIAE.

No phonetic change was more characteristic of the languages of Asia Minor than the softening of the *tenues* to *mediae* under the influence of a nasal immediately preceding; *ντ*, *μπ*, *νκ* thus became *νδ*, *μβ*, *νγ*. Its existence in the Phrygian area is attested by the forms *κονδοτάτη* in a third-century inscription from Altyn Tash,² *Μάνδαλο* for the Phrygian town of *Μάνταλος*,³ and *λαμβροῦ* is an inscription of Pogle.⁴ The obvious importance of this phenomenon, which arose originally among the pre-Hellenic peoples of Asia Minor, lies in its subsequent spread throughout the Greek-speaking world, so that it is a general characteristic of the modern tongue, which makes no distinction between original *ντ*, *μπ*, *νκ* and *νδ*, *μβ*, *νγ*. The nasal element in the combination exerted a twofold influence; it changed the *tenues* into *mediae* by a process of assimilation, while it prevented the change of the *mediae* into the voiced spirants *δ*, *ν*, *ζ*, their normal development in the later Greek.

The inscriptions further give evidence of a tendency to confuse *tenues* and *mediae* in initial and intervocalic positions in the Greek of the Phrygian area. We have, for example,

¹ See Rhys and Jones, *The Welsh People*,² p. 20.

² *Studies in the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire*, p. 219, No. 18.

³ Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, p. 150.

⁴ *B.C.H.* xvi, p. 425.

κεῖδε (= κεῖται) : Ramsay, *C. and B.*, No. 679 : Akroênos.

θυγαδρί : *B.C.H.* 1902, p. 218, No. 9 : Iconium.

Σεπαστοῖς : *C.I.G.* 3906b : Hierapolis.

Τόμνον (= Δόμνον) : *Ath. Mitt.* 1888, p. 261, No. 87 : Sinethandos.

In a native Phrygian inscription¹ the Greek participle *κεκρυμένος* appears in the form *γεγρειμεναν*. This confusion was widespread in Asia Minor, and it appears also in the Greek borrowings in Armenian. It is valuable as showing that in the *Κοινή* period the tenues tended to be softened in pronunciation and to approach the mediae in value, and the mediae tended rather to retain their non-continuous value than to succumb to the normal development into spirants. Here again our ignorance of the phonology of the native languages prohibits any definite explanation. We may, however, note that this sporadic confusion to which our evidence testifies shows that the tenues and mediae generally tended to follow the line of development which they regularly adopted when preceded by a nasal, and the suggestion presents itself that a nasal quality was a general characteristic of the speech of the native peoples. Other phenomena in the popular *Κοινή* of the district would seem to point to the same conclusion. The insertion of an 'irrational' nasal before non-continuous sounds is not uncommon. The form *ἀνγαθόν* occurs in an inscription of 3 to 4 A.D. from Miskamos,² *θυγατρί* in a bilingual inscription of Kozanli,³ *Παντίον* in an inscription of Pissia.⁴ The loan-words in Armenian also give evidence of this. Buturas, who has discussed the whole question of the irrational nasal,⁵ concludes that the phenomenon was once widely spread over Asia Minor. Beside this insertion of the nasal we notice frequent examples of its omission, as in the forms *ζώτες*, *σύβιος*, *παραγέλω*, etc. The early dialect of Pamphylia was in this, as in the change of *ντ* to *νδ*, affected by the native phonology.⁶ Such two opposite methods of treating the nasal are best explained by the existence of a general nasal intonation, which tended to blur the definite value of the nasal consonants and to produce uncertainty in their use. This indistinctness might explain such spellings as *γανβρός*, *ἀμένπτως*, which occur in the inscriptions. A general nasal pronunciation is also indicated by another sound change. We have a few examples of *μβ*, *νδ* becoming, by assimilation, *μ(μ)*, *ν(ν)*. The form *γαμρός* occurs in two inscriptions from different parts of the Phrygian area,⁷ the name of the river Tembrogios appears as *Τεμρόγιος* in an inscription of Dorylaion,⁸ the name *Κινναβόριον* is connected by Kretschmer with the Lycian personal name *χῆtabora*, *Κινδάβυρις*,⁹ and the Greek *μανδραγόρας* is written *manragor* in Armenian. Now in an inscription of Tralles (*C.I.G.* 2919) we have in the form *ἐμδόμον* an example of the change of *β* to *μ* where no nasal consonant

¹ No. XXXII. of Calder's collection, in *J.H.S.* 1911, p. 161 sqq.

² *J.H.S.* 1899, p. 298, No. 218.

³ *J.H.S.* 1911, p. 185, No. 46.

⁴ *J.H.S.* 1899, p. 307, No. 247.

⁵ In *Glotta*, 1913, p. 170 sqq.

⁶ See Thumb, *Handbuch der griech. Dialekte*, p. 301.

⁷ *J.H.S.* 1911, p. 165, No. 2, and *Ath. Mitt.* 1888, p. 255, No. 66.

⁸ *Ath. Mitt.*, *ibid.*, p. 362.

⁹ See Anderson in *J.H.S.* 1898, p. 109.

precedes. Schweizer¹ supposes an intermediate form $\epsilon\mu\beta\delta\acute{o}\mu\omicron\nu$, but a strong nasalization of the preceding vowel would sufficiently account for the change. To this example may be added the interchange of β and μ in some native names; e.g., $\Lambda\alpha\iota\rho\beta\eta\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ and $\Lambda\alpha\iota\rho\mu\eta\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\text{Βλα}\acute{\upsilon}\nu\delta\omicron\varsigma$ and $\text{Μλα}\acute{\upsilon}\nu\delta\omicron\varsigma$.

That some of the modern dialects of Asia Minor have inherited the tendency to a softened pronunciation of the tenues appears from the evidence which Mr. Dawkins supplies. He notes² that in the dialect of Pharasa, 'where $\check{c}$ and the voiceless stops π , τ , κ occur, there is a difficulty in deciding whether the sound is $\check{c}$ or $\check{j}$, π or b , τ or d , κ or g .' He also notes the occasional change of tenuis to media where no nasal precedes in the dialects of Cappadocia.³ These dialects present us with a further phenomenon, which recalls the evidence of the inscriptions. The change of $\mu\acute{b}$ to $\mu(\mu)$ appears frequently in the modern speech of Asia Minor,⁴ as in $\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ for $(\epsilon)\mu\beta\alpha\zeta\omega$, $d\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\rho\sigma\epsilon\nu$ for $d\acute{\epsilon}\mu\beta\omicron\rho\sigma\epsilon\nu$, $\epsilon\beta\lambda\epsilon\mu\acute{\eta}$ from $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\alpha\mu\pi\acute{\eta}\varsigma$. Furthermore, the change of an explosive to a nasal, where no nasal precedes (as in $\epsilon\mu\delta\acute{o}\mu\omicron\nu$) is well represented in the dialects of Cappadocia.⁵ This change, like that of $\mu\acute{b}$ to $\mu(\mu)$, is a tendency rather than a regular practice, and as such would lead to a confusion between explosive and nasal, which explains the occasional reverse change of μ to π .

We have seen that the non-Greek peoples of Asia Minor tended in speaking Greek to retain the non-continuous values of β , δ , γ . But, as in the case of the aspirates, there is evidence that the general tendency to change them into spirants was at work, seeking to nullify the native influence. The representation of Latin v by β is a clear sign of spirantal value for the Greek sound, and examples of this occur frequently enough in the inscriptions of 2 to 4 A.D. of the Phrygian area. Their evidence, we believe, justifies the conclusion that the spirantal value established itself most readily in the parts which were most exposed to outside influence. Among the Latin words noted, v was represented in S.W. Phrygia and the great cities by $\omicron\nu$ in eight cases, by β in thirteen, in N. and E. Phrygia by $\omicron\nu$ in eight cases, by β in four. The form $\omicron\lambda\acute{o}\iota$ is found in a public inscription of Pessinus of an early date (first half of 2 B.C.).⁶ Though it proves nothing for the popular pronunciation, it shows that the spirantal value, which γ at this time possessed elsewhere,⁷ was already making its way into the language of the educated official classes, preliminary to invading the more popular speech. We have no definite evidence in the inscriptions of the spirantal pronunciation of δ , though we cannot doubt that it also was making headway. It has, however, been already stated that θ appears to have retained its non-continuous value more persistently than the other aspirates, and the history of δ seems to have run a parallel course. If we are correct in surmising that the spirant β proved a difficult sound to acquire, there can be no doubt that its voiced partner δ pre-

¹ *Gram. Perg. Inscr.*, p. 120.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 153.

⁴ Dawkins, p. 81.

³ P. 69.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁶ Dittenberger, *O.G.I.S.*, 315₅₄.

⁷ See Brugmann, *G.G.*⁴, p. 128.

sented equal difficulty. Certainly the evidence provided by Mr. Dawkins shows that in the modern dialects the treatment of δ is closely parallel with that of θ , differing only in that the tendency to give it its original non-continuous value is somewhat more marked.¹ We suggest that the explanation in both cases is to be found in the modification which the pronunciation of the *Κοινή* underwent on the lips of the non-Greek peoples of the peninsula, and that the retention of the non-continuous value of δ , equally with the softened pronunciation of the tenuis, goes back to a nasal quality which belonged to the speech of these peoples.

COMBINATIONS OF CONSONANTS.

The ancient combinations $\phi\theta$, $\chi\theta$, $\phi\chi$ have become in Modern Greek $\phi\tau$, $\chi\tau$, $\phi\kappa$. In their pronunciation in ancient Greek the second element alone was aspirated; i.e., they had the values p^th , k^th , p^kh , though the first element probably had a weaker stoppage than the normal tenuis, and tended to become a spirant.² At the affricate stage these combinations would have the values pft^h , kxt^h , pft^kh . Finally, the acquiring of a full spirantal value by the first element caused the second by dissimilation, either before or after it too had become a pure spirant, to return to the position of a simple tenuis (ft , xt , fk). The μ of $\nu\theta$ (as in *ἐλεύθερος*) after becoming a voiceless spirant exercised a like influence on the development of the aspirate, so that $\nu\theta$ as well as $\phi\theta$ became ft . A similar dissimilation between voiceless spirants, by which one member of the group became a tenuis, accounts for the change of $\sigma\theta$ to $\sigma\tau$, and of $\phi\sigma$, $\psi\sigma$ to $\pi\sigma$ (ψ). All these changes belong to common Modern Greek; in the dialects of Asia Minor another combination has undergone the same development. In *Sílli* and *Cappadocia*,³ $\rho\theta$ has regularly the value $\rho\tau$ (*ῥρτα*, *ῥρτονπου*, *ῥρτό*); here the spirant ρ , which before θ is voiceless (r'), has exerted the same dissimilative influence in r^h as spirant f in fp . That θ alone succumbed to this influence, while it was resisted by ϕ , χ , is due to the difficulty which the pronunciation of spirant p presented to the people of Asia Minor. But the regularity with which θ has the τ -value in this combination, as contrasted with the variety that appears in its treatment when it stands alone, points definitely to the influence of the preceding spirant. In other parts of the eastern area (Cyprus, Rhodes, Calymnos, Samos, Chios) spirant χ has been similarly changed in combination with ρ to the simple tenuis, as in *ῥρκουμαι*, *ῥρκή*.⁴

There are signs that the voiceless combinations sometimes followed an alternative line of development, viz., that, instead of the change of one spirant to its corresponding non-continuous sound, the first was assimilated and disappeared. This latter development is exemplified only in isolated cases, the former being generally preferred. It is seen in the forms *ἀπελεθέρα*,

¹ See Dawkins, pp. 44, 74 sqq.

³ Dawkins, pp. 44, 74 sqq.

² See Brugmann, *G.G.*⁴, p. 125, n. 2, with the reference given there.

⁴ See Thumb, *Handbook of the Modern Greek Vernacular*, p. 18.

ἐλευθερίαν,¹ in which *fp* has become *p*, and in κατεχεσε,² ἐσεβης,¹ where *fs* has given *s*. The heavy combinations doubtless helped the simplification in the forms Ἑστράτου, πίφασκε, ὑποκάστραν,³ the New Testament forms ἀκαταπάστους (2 Pet. 2. 14, AB), ἀχμηρῶ (2 Pet. 1. 19, A), and the modern Cyprian κλαθμός.⁴ The Mn. Gk. (ὀ)θαρμίζω, 'I bewitch,' from ὀφθαλμίζω, shows the same development. In this connexion the various derived forms of the verb εὐθειάνω are instructive. For the local dialects of Cappadocia Mr. Dawkins registers the forms θιάνω, φῶά(γ)ω, and φκιάνω. The two latter presuppose the form ἐφτειάνω, which shows the normal change of *fp* to *ft*, but θιάνω points to earlier ἐθειάνω, which shows the simplification of *fp* to *p*. A like simplification is seen in the examples given by Mr. Dawkins of the occasional change of *φσ* to *σ* in the dialects of Cappadocia and Pharasa, and of *σφ* to *φ* in those of Cappadocia.⁵ This treatment of voiceless spirants in combination is found in other languages. Welsh *fp*, from Latin *pt*, was simplified to *p*, as in *pregeth* from Lat. *preceptum*. In *lp*, from Lat. *lt*, the assimilation was in the reverse direction, giving *l* (written *ll*), as in *cylllell* from Lat. *cultellus*. The difficulty of the combination *fs* in Welsh was met by the change of *f* to the bilabial *w*, as in *cawsant* from **caff-santi*.⁶

Combinations of voiced spirants, though more stable than the voiceless, tend to follow the same lines of development. The groups *βμ*, *γμ* have been generally simplified to *μ* in Modern Greek, *βν* with partial assimilation has become *μν*; *βλ*, *βρ* have maintained themselves generally, though ἐλογ[ῶ]ν in an inscription of the Lydian Katakekaumene,⁷ the modern τραλίζω, σταλίν in the Pontic dialect,⁴ Mn. Gk. ξέρω, and, in the dialect of Chios, ἐρύ,⁴ may be isolated examples of a tendency to simplification. The Cappadocian φέγω, φέγγω may be simply due to the forms ἔφυγα, φύγγω, but they are paralleled by παντρέγουν (for ὑπαντρεύουν) at Carpathos.⁴ The forms βύνω (Cappadocia) and ζύνω (Pharasa), from σβύνω (βσύνω) show developments of the voiced *zv* and *vz* parallel to those of the voiceless *sf* and *fs*. Some of the voiced combinations, however, in Asia Minor adopt the alternative development, by which one member changes its mode of articulation and becomes an explosive. The change of *βδ* to *βd* is seen, for example, in Cappadocian βδομάρα and its variants, and in ραβζί of Delmesó and ραβδί of Pharasa. It is interesting to find the form ἔβτομον in a Κοινή inscription of Tomi.⁸ γδ becomes γd in Cappadocian γδύζω, and γδύννουμον beside γρύννουμον in Sílli. βγ becomes βg regularly in the dialect of Pharasa.⁹ The change of *ρδ* to *ρd* is practically regular in Sílli, Cappadocia, and Pharasa. The last-named dialect also supplies an example of the change of *ργ* to *ρg* in the form ἀργάτοι (from ἐργάτης). These changes, all following the same principle, are not equally widespread among the dialects. ρd for ρδ appears most consistently,

¹ References in Dieterich, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der gr. Sprache*, pp. 78 sqq.

² *J.H.S.* 1899, p. 298, No. 318 (Miskamos).

³ Dieterich, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Dieterich, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

⁵ Pp. 82, 162.

⁶ See Jones, *Welsh Grammar*, p. 345.

⁷ *Mous. Sm.*, No. v^ε1.

⁸ *B.M. Inscr.* II. No. 17715.

⁹ Dawkins, p. 154.

the others are limited to different localities. But that they are not recent local developments may be gathered from the fact that changes of the same kind are found in the dialects of the neighbouring islands, Cyprus, Rhodes, Chios, Calymnos, etc., where as in Asia Minor the development is by no means uniform.¹ Such a distribution makes it probable that the tendency to change was a characteristic of the late Eastern *Koinḗ*. The fact that in Pharasa late *βγ*, derived from an earlier *λγ*, as *ἄβγο* from *ἄλογο(ν)*, or from *βλ*, as *στάβγο* from *σταῦλος*, does not change, also points to an early date for the phenomenon.

The examples of the forms of words that contain the nasal combination *μν*, gathered by Nachmanson² from inscriptions and papyri, show that its pronunciation gave some difficulty in the popular *Koinḗ*, which tended to simplify it. This is well brought out by the variety of spellings which the inscriptions of the Phrygian area show in the word *μνήμη* and in others related to it. *μῆμη* frequently occurs, and this simple reduplicated form may have led to such further formations as *μνήμνη*, *μνήνη*, and *μννάμνη*.³ That both syllables tended to have the same value is made probable by the form *μνής* with loss of syllable by dissimilation.⁴ In an inscription of Aizanoi, which perhaps ought to read *γυναικεὶ γλυκυτάτῃ νμνήμης χάριν*, we may have another curious spelling.⁵ For related words we have the forms *μημεῖον*, *μησάμενοι*, and *ννείας*. The prevalence of *μ* as the simplified result rather than *ν*, which appears in the last example, is probably due to the association of the words with Lat. *memor*. Medially the simplified sound is generally *ν*; cf. the forms *γυνασιαρχοῦντος*, *σενότατος*, and others quoted by Nachmanson.

In the modern dialects of Asia Minor, beside the form *μνημόρι*, which also occurs in the inscriptions,⁶ we have the variants *μορμόρ*, *μορμούρ*, and the like, which probably came from the older form by proportional analogy with *μνήμη* : *μῆμη*. From the form *μονέβου* we infer an earlier *μημονεύω*. The form *λημόρι* of the dialect of Silli may be compared with *λημόρια* of Velvendos, which Hatzidakis⁷ derives from an earlier *νημόρια*, showing a *ν*-survival. The *ν* form is certainly seen in *nīm̄ma* (from *μνήμα*) of Terra d'Otranto.⁸ The following forms in Mr. Dawkins' Glossary also illustrate the treatment of the *μν* combination. The aor. subj. of Mn. Gk. *κρημνίζω* is *κρεμίσω*; the plur. of Mn. Gk. *κρημνός* is *τα κρεμούς*. *λίμνη* appears as *λίμβη* at Silli, as *λίμβλη* at Pharasa, both from an earlier **λίμμη*, and the latter through an intermediate *λίμλη*, which is also recorded. The different varieties of *γυμνός* do not appear to contain forms with simplification, but their confusion with *γδύνομαι*, which gave the contaminated form *γδυμνός*,⁹ was probably helped by the tendency to pronounce *μν* as simple *ν*. Finally, there are the various Cappadocian forms

¹ See Thumb, *op. cit.*, § 26.

² *Glotta*, iv. pp. 245 sqq.

³ The *α* is apparently a Doric survival. See Thumb, *Die gr. Sprache*, p. 66.

⁴ *J.H.S.* 1899, p. 112, No. 98.

⁵ *Le Bas-Waddington*, No. 963; the editor

reads *γλυκυτάτην μνήμης*.

⁶ E.g., *Ath. Mitt.* 1888, p. 250, No. 50.

⁷ *K.Z.* 33, p. 123.

⁸ See Thumb, *op. cit.*, p. 286 (*Specimens of Dialect*, III. 2).

⁹ See Dawkins, s.v.

of Mn. Gk. ἀπομένω; besides those with *μν* we have pres. πομίσκω, aor. πόμα, with *μ*, and aor. πόνα, with *ν*. The loss of the intervening vowel must have taken place at a comparatively early date, first, doubtless, in the aor. ind. It is common to all the local dialects of Cappadocia, as well as that of Sílli. The tendency to simplify the early nasal combination in these modern dialectic words is probably to be connected with the same tendency in the Κουνή. The same combination, resulting from the growth of *ν* between *μ* and consonantal *ι*, as in *μνιά*, *Ρωμνιός*, is a new formation, the history of which bears no relation to the phenomenon which we have been discussing.

D. EMRYS EVANS.

A SEVENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH EDITION OF VIRGIL.

Two kindred glossaries, Affatim and the Second Amplonian, have been shown (by Professor Lindsay in the *Classical Quarterly* XI. 185 sqq.) to derive their materials mainly from the Abstrusa and Abolita glossaries, but partly also from Virgil marginalia. This Virgil thread is most clearly seen in the I-section of Affatim. The Affatim compiler tells us that the exemplar (from which he drew most of his material) had lost four leaves at this point: 'Here the exemplar lacks four leaves in the H-I portion' (C.G.L. IV. 524, 45-46). We find the following unmistakable Virgil batches:

Affatim 525, 41 sqq. Infandum: inenarrandum, nec loquendum (e.g. *Aen.* 1, 251); Inpar: inaequalis uiribus (e.g. *Aen.* 1, 475); Iamdudum: iam pridem, iam olim (e.g. *Aen.* 1, 580; also C.G.L. IV. 88, 40); In arce: in excelso (e.g. *Aen.* 3, 531); Infabricata: imperfecta (*Aen.* 4, 400); Iam uertitur: iam transit (*Aen.* 5, 626); <Inualidum>: iam ualidum minus, minus fortem (*Aen.* 5, 716); Imago: uultus (e.g. *Aen.* 6, 695); In iaculis: in armis, in telis (*Aen.* 5, 37).

Affatim 527, 15 sqq. Id metuens: hoc timens (*Aen.* 1, 23); Interea: dum haec aguntur (e.g. *Aen.* 1, 124; with an Abolita item Interea: inter haec); Implentur: satiantur (*Aen.* 1, 215); Intenti: parati (e.g. *Aen.* 2, 1); Intenderis: proposueris (not Virgilian, but transferred here to accompany Intenti); Imber: pluuiā (e.g. *Aen.* 3, 194; also C.G.L. IV. 89, 34); Ingeminant: duplicant (e.g. *Aen.* 4, 531); Infensi: irati, inimici (e.g. *Aen.* 5, 587); Inremeabilis: inreuertibilis (e.g. *Aen.* 5, 591); Infert: inserit, miscet (e.g. *Aen.* 5, 622); Incepti: inchoati, amissi (e.g. *Aen.* 5, 714; ? Amissi from 'amissis' of preceding line); Inferat: inportet (*Aen.* 11. 467); Infecta: intincta, colorata (*Aen.* 5, 413); Interritus: nil timens (*Aen.* 5, 427); Intremuit: formidauit (? a guess at *Aen.* 5, 505).

Affatim 528, 33 sqq. Inpiger: uelox (*Aen.* 1, 738); Inrigat: infundit (e.g. *Aen.* 1, 692; also C.G.L. IV. 97, 32); Ibidem: in eodem loco (*Aen.* 1, 116); Insinuat: manifestat (*Aen.* 2, 229); In litore: in ora maris (e.g. *Aen.* 1, 173); Ignari: inscii (e.g. *Aen.* 1, 198); Imminet: altior est (e.g. *Aen.* 1, 420); ? Inscribitur <h>asta: . . . (*Aen.* 1, 478); . . .: artatur ad periculum (C.G.L. IV. 447, 46 has Inscribitur: notatur) It looks here as if we had a fusion of two glosses, and it is possible that the transcriber's eye wandered from 'hasta' of the upper line to 'artatur' of the line below, causing the mistake. At all events the Virgil batch is continued, Indicit: fieri iubet (e.g.

Aen. 1, 632); *Id*: hoc ipsum (e.g. *Aen.* 1, 676); *Inuia*: sine uia loca (e.g. *Aen.* 4, 151); *Indignantem*: irascentem (*Aen.* 5, 651); *Inuicti*: potentes, inuincibiles (*Aen.* 6, 394); *Insistit*: perseuerat (*Aen.* 4, 533); *Inrisam*: delusam (*Aen.* 5, 272).

Affatim 529, 44 sqq. *Inconcessos hymenaeos*: <il>licitas nuptias (*Aen.* 1, 651); *In occasu*: in fine[m] (*Aen.* 2, 432); *Inpulerit*: coegerit (*Aen.* 1, 11; but cf. *C.G.L.* IV. 96, 38); *Imposuit*: supra <po>suit (e.g. *Aen.* 1, 62; cf. *C.G.L.* IV. 96, 39); *Immota*: stabilia, fixa (e.g. *Aen.* 1, 257); *Insontes*: innocentes, innoxii (*Aen.* 6, 435); *Improuida*: incauta (*Aen.* 2, 200). Nos. 51, 52, 53 are three distinct glosses, presumably all of separate origin. No. 52 resembles *Abolita* *C.G.L.* IV. 91, 8, while No. 53 may be from still another source. No. 51 we may perhaps claim since the explanation suits, *Infulae*: uelamenta de lana in modum uittarum facta (e.g. *Geo.* 3, 487-a); *Indomitum*: ferocem (*Aen.* 2, 440); *Informe*: nimium turpe (e.g. *Aen.* 3, 658); *In uota*: in sacrificia (e.g. *Aen.* 5, 234); *Immotus*: fixus (e.g. *Aen.* 5, 437).

Affatim 530, 60 sqq. *In puppi[n]*: in posteriore parte (e.g. *Aen.* 3, 527); *In frust[r]a*: in partes (*Aen.* 1, 212); *Inhumati*: insepulti (*Aen.* 1, 353; also *C.G.L.* IV. 101, 31); *Iuuent<a>e*: iuuenili aetate (*Aen.* 1, 590); *Ictus*: percussus, iactus (*Aen.* 12, 926). The batch is resumed at No. 21, *Iura dabunt*: iudicabunt (*Aen.* 1, 293); *In tutum*: in tranquillum (*Aen.* 1, 391); *Innuptae*: uirgines (*Aen.* 12, 24); *Instruit*: armat (e.g. *Aen.* 3, 471); *Iuues adiuues* (*Aen.* 4, 578); *Inrumpunt*: intrant (e.g. *Aen.* 6, 528).

Affatim is arranged in an extraordinary fashion, the initial letter of the word and the first following vowel being the two things regarded. The preceding lists represent the Virgil batches in the various sections of the I-chapter: the I...A-section (*InfAndum*, *InpAr*, *IAmdudum*, etc.), the I...E-section (*Id mEtuens*, *IntErea*, *ImplEntur*, etc.), the I...I-section (*InpIger*, *InrIgat*, etc.), the I...O-section (*IncOncessos*, *In Occasu*, etc.), the I...U-section (*In pUppi*, *In frUsta*, etc.). Consideration of the *Affatim* arrangement shows that *C.G.L.* IV. 479, 37, since it occurs in the A...I-section, must have been *Afficis*, so that (*Thes. Gloss.* s.v.) there is no need to see in it *Affec<er>is*. It is merely the *Abstrusa* item *Adficis*: *adfligis* (*C.G.L.* IV. 7, 22). *Affic<er>is* too is unnecessary.

The I-chapter is a large chapter in any glossary (so many words begin with 'in-'), and in the absence of his chief source, the compiler may have drawn more freely from his Virgil material at this point. We can hardly expect to find equally large Virgil batches in the other sections. What we do find are mere 'clusters' rather than 'batches.' And their symmetry is so marred by the compiler's (or transcriber's) habit of putting cognate words together (see Loewe, *Prodromus*, p. 107) that it seems hardly worth while to exhibit these clusters in the same full form as the preceding batches, with indication of each intruder and with discussion of each doubtful point. It will suffice to indicate their position in the sections. With the help of Wetmore's *Virgil Index* or Merguet's *Virgil Lexicon*, the reader can easily

verify the several items; A...E-section: 475, 22 Aeternum, — 27 Ad terras (*sic*) concidit; A...I- 480, 19 Animis caelestibus, — 28 Ab stirpe; 481, 10 Aligerum, — 13 Africus; B...A- 487, 46 Barbarus, — 49 Bacchatur; C...A- 491, 2 Carecta, — 6 Cantharus (with No. 5 Casa, on the evidence of the Virgil Glossary, C.G.L. IV. 432, 24, probably the compiler's recast of an Abolita item); I...E- 527, 7 In breuia, — 9 Ingentia moenia; I...U- 530, 49 In gurgite u<a>sto, — 51 Incumbere; R...E- 562, 56 Refulsit, — 59 Regali[a] luxu; S...U- 571, 43 Superbus, — 48 Supereminet; T...E- 574, 9 Tempe, — 10 Terque quaterque. These are the clearest examples of Virgil clusters in Affatim; and certainty is often added to this or that item in a cluster by its occurrence also in a Virgil cluster in Ampl. II. Thus 'ad terras concidit' of C.G.L. IV. 475, 27 may be recognized in a Virgil cluster at C.G.L. V. 261, 67, though the phrase has in the course of transcription assumed the puzzling form 'Adtesascondit.'

Further, there are unmistakable Virgil items in Affatim which have not managed to keep their place in a cluster: (472, 40) Amare focos: domus construere, *Aen.* 3, 134; (473, 20) Aetherium sensum: caelestem spiritum, *Aen.* 6, 747; (474, 43) Aequare toto: per totum mare, *Aen.* 1, 29; (484, 44) Atrum nemus: silua obscura, *Aen.* 1, 165; (486, 37) Annuus orbis: annuus circulus, *Aen.* 5, 46; (490, 28) Causa<e> [s]irarum: origo indignationum, *Aen.* 1, 25; (494, 17) Caerula colla: . . ., *Aen.* 2, 381; (506, 45) Diues opum: [h]abundans diuitiarum, e.g. *Aen.* 1, 14; (508, 22) Dulces animas: du<l>cem spiritum, *Aen.* 3, 140; (508, 27) ? Dulci nectar<e>: melle, *Aen.* 1, 433; (510, 49) Exciderant animo: de animo recesserant, *Aen.* 1, 26; (520, 36) Furentibus Au<st>ris: saeuientibus uentis, e.g. *Aen.* 1, 51; (522, 26) Gemina flores: duos filios should be Gemina proles (for -am -em): duos filios, *Aen.* 1, 274, and is wrongly explained in *Thes. Gloss.*, s.v. Germen; (527, 3) Inter pocula: inter epulas, *Geo.* 2, 383; (527, 38) Insignem pietate: praeclarum misericordia, *Aen.* 1, 10; (528, 26) Iliacis campis: <Troianis campis>, e.g. *Aen.* 1, 97; (536, 53) Manet alta mente[m] <repostum>: intra sensum penitus conlocatum, *Aen.* 1, 26; (537, 42) Metas rerum: finis temporum, *Aen.* 1, 278; (558, 26) Pulchra prole <parentem>: bonorum filiorum patrem, *Aen.* 1, 75; (559, 60) Quo numine: qua maiestate, e.g. *Aen.* 1, 8; (568, 26) Stridentibus alis: sonantibus pennis, *Aen.* 1, 397; (569, 57) Super aethera: super aera, *Aen.* 1, 379; (571, 34) Sub rupe caua<ta>: sub spelunca, *Aen.* 1, 310; (571, 51) ? Studiis belli: stu<diis> pugnandi, *Aen.* 1, 14; (575, 34) Tot uada: tot maris pericula, *Aen.* 5, 615; (575, 40) Troiae ab oris: a Troiae finibus, *Aen.* 1, 1; (579, 23) Vi superum: uiolentia deorum, *Aen.* 1, 4.

The Second Amplonian Glossary (C.G.L. V. pp. 259-337) follows an AB-arrangement (the first two letters of each word being regarded), rarely an ABC-arrangement (in the C- and P- chapters), and has not been subjected to anything like the violent reshuffling of Affatim. Its Virgil clusters are more easily detected. As a rule they follow (whether immediately or not) the Abstrusa material in each section. Taking for example the AL-section of the

glossary, we find first Abstrusa-Abolita borrowings and then, at the place in the section we have come to consider normal, a Virgil cluster (p. 264, 48-54): Allecto: nomen Furiae (e.g. *Aen.* 7, 341); Albula: nomen fluminis uel ciuitatis (*Aen.* 8, 332); Allabitur: infertur uel abluitur (*Aen.* 10, 292); Alis plaudentem: pennis percutientem (*Aen.* 5, 515-6; Allabitur: leniter decurrit (*Aen.* 6, 2); Alta mente: intimo corde siue secreto may be a headless gloss <Condita mente>: alta mente (*Aen.* 3, 388), and perhaps the compiler added his own interpretation of the phrase and made a new item of it: Alterna: vicaria (*Aen.* 6, 121). To save space I merely tell the reader where he will find the others, adding a note here and there on an interesting or difficult item, and leave him to verify them with the help of a Virgil Index:

AB-section: 260, 2 Auernus, — 3 Ab oris; AC-: 260, 50 Ac ueluti, — 57b Acerra; AD-: 261, 65 Adhibete, — 262, 1 <Externo>: aduenticio, peregrino; AE-: 262, 67 Aeripedem — 263, 3 Egregium (262, 72 Aequatae, *Aen.* 5, 844); AF-: 263, 20 Affatur, — 22 Afflarat; AG-: 263, 46 Agite, — 50 Agerem; AM-: 265, 28 Agmine, — 32 Admoneat; AN-: 266, 28 Animis caelestibus, — 37 Anne; AR-: 268, 16 Arrectis, — 22 Aries; AS-: 268, 51 Astu, — 54 Astitit (also 49 Ast ego); AT-: 269, 10 Atris faucibus, — 11 Atlans; AU-: 269, 57 Ausonia, — 59 Auexerat; BE-: 271, 12 Berecynthia mater, — 14 Bellipotens (No. 13, Berce: nomen Orphei, is a puzzle); BI-: 271, 49 Buten, — 51 Biiugis; CA-: 274, 42 Caueae, — 46 Cayster; CE-: 276, 5 Ceraunia (a marginal variant of No. 11), — 10 Ciebat (No. 8 Goetz's 'Cerinea' is unlikely. Read 'Cyrene' of *Geo.* 4, 321, Cyrene: aquae nympa; cf. Sangall. 216, 54. English 'e' for Latin 'y' was a common seventh or eighth century substitution, and we have an example of an Englishman's derivation in *C.G.L.* V. 331, 39 Synodus: congregatio senum); CI-: 277, 12 Ciebo, — 16 Cymbia; CL-: 277, 60 <? Parcae fila legunt>: Clotho nomen Parcae primae, — 62 Cliusi; CO-: 278, 62 Corpora, — 65 Cnosius; CON-: 281, 30 Contundet, — 33 Consertam; CR-: 282, 32 Croceis, — 34 Cristatus; CU-: 282, 45 Culmum (with an Abolita addition), — 48 Cumulus; DE-: 285, 14 Depasta, — 20 Dentalia (No. 16 is an item of doubtful identity, but Nos. 17-18 are probably Vergilian headless glosses); DI-: 286, 44 Diruta, — 47 Dissimulo; 286, 52 Diluit, — 53 Distentas <lacte>; 287, 13 Dilectus, — 23 Deriguere oculis (with the exception of No. 17, an Abolita gloss from Festus); EL-: 289, 14 Elysios, — 17 Elisum (? from *Aen.* 8, 261; for the compiler frequently changes a plural into a singular for the convenience of readers of his dictionary); EX-: 292, 48 Ex<s>ortem, — 57 Exponit (No. 52 is probably a 'split' from 291, 29 tacked on to an Abstrusa item, while No. 53 may be a foolish creation of the compiler's own brain); FA-: 294, 9 Facultas, — 13 Farra; FE-: 294, 43 Feus (? Fucus), — 45 Feruet; FI-: 295, 2 Fiscina, — 3 ? Fiscellam (cf. p. 294, 50); HA-: 299, 55 Haeret, — 60 Haruspex (wrongly given the interpretation of 'Auspex,' as in *C.G.L.* IV. 85, 23); IN- 302, 10 Insignem pietate, — 13 Ineluctabile (No. 12 is probably a fusion of two items Innititur: inclinat, ? *Aen.* 6, 760 qui nititur,

and <Impulit>: inpigit, impulsit, e.g. *Aen.* 7, 621; cf. p. 301, 52); 303, 22 Iunipirus, — 27 In breuia; LA-: 306, 37b Lapidus, — 47 Lancibus pandis; MA-: 309, 58 Magalia, — 59 Madet; MI-: 311, 5 Myricae, — 7 Mitra; PA-: 318, 44 ? Palumbes, — 48 Palearia (cf. 319, 39); QU-: 327, 19 Quianam, — 21 Quondam; RA-: 327, 36 Rapidus (? Abstrusa), — 37 Rasile; RE-: 328, 56 Redolent, — 59 Reserat; RU-: 329, 46 Rubigo, — 50 Ruminat (No. 48 Ructat, *Aen.* 6, 297 er-); SA-: 330, 9 Sarmenta, — 13 Sancire (*Aen.* 12, 200 -it. For No. 11 cf. Abstrusa 166, 10; but perhaps the annotator of the English MS. used the Abstrusa Glossary, as we should a dictionary, to find the meaning of 'saltus,' and the attempt at etymology may be his own addition or the compiler's); SE-: 331, 40 Serta, — 45 Serum (No. 41 Sequestra: sepone<nte>, *Aen.* 11, 133, No. 44 a 'split' from No. 40, and No. 42 possibly the 'Saetosi apri' of *Ecl.* 7, 29, though *Thes. Gloss.* makes it a Bible gloss on Mark 7, 34); SP-: 333, 51 Spatiatur, — 53 Spectatus. There are no groups of SQ-, ST- (?), SU-, TA-, TE-, TI- and TO-, owing to the loss of a leaf of the MS. TU-: 334, 17 Tumida, — 18 Turbine.

Besides the Virgil clusters indicated above, we find throughout Ampl. II., as in Affatim, single Virgilian items which have been shaken from their places by successive transcriptions, such as the following (those already cited from Affatim are omitted):

(271, 44) Bimembris: centauri, *Aen.* 8, 293; (271, 66) Bonus: faustus and Felixque: hoc est faustus quod felix, *Ecl.* 5, 65; with fusion of the marginalia. For a similar fusion, cf. Affatim p. 539, 48, where Multum: diu (*Aen.* 1, 3) and Multa quoque: diuersa praeterea (*Aen.* 1, 5) have become one item, though two items in Ampl. II. (311, 44 and 45); also cf. Ampl. II. 261, 50 Adsit: praesto sit (*Aen.* 3, 116) and Iamque: et iam (*Aen.* 3, 135); (275, 10) Celaeno: ? Harpyia, e.g. *Aen.* 3, 211; (290, 58) Italiam: ad Italiam, e.g. *Aen.* 1, 2; (297, 44) Galaesus: fluuius Calabriae, *Geo.* 4, 126; (299, 14) Graiorum: Graecorum, *Aen.* 2, 157; (309, 9) Lucifugi: qui tenebrosa diligunt, *Geo.* 4, 243 -is; (314, 27). If, as is probable, the suggestion Nox humida: nox conplua is right, we may refer it to *Aen.* 3, 198; (319, 42-43) Per ora nouem: per nouem ora, *Aen.* 1, 245; (325, 23) Proflabat <somnum>: dormiens, *Aen.* 9, 326; (330, 28) Samo: in Thracia suggests *Aen.* 1, 16, and in that case gives us an idea of the annotator's geographical knowledge. More probably it is a marginal index SAMOTHRACIA, i.e. 'Here Virgil gives the etymology of Samothracia.' The monk who mechanically copied out the marginalia for glossary purposes made it Samo: Thracia, or perhaps the other half of the item has been lost, e.g. Samothracia: <Samos Threicia>.

These Virgil items of Affatim and Ampl. II. evidently come from the marginalia of a Virgil MS., and we get a glimpse at one of its pages by the help of the item (Affatim 501, 28; Ampl. II. 282, 48) Cumulus aquarum multitudo in fluctu pendent in mari eriguntur, where two neighbouring marginal annotations (on *Aen.* 1, 105-6 insequitur cumulo praeruptus aquae mons. Hi summo in fluctu pendent) have been fused into one. Another note on this

passage was (Ampl. II. 262, 26) *Aquae mons: magnitudo*, a distinction of 'mons' from 'cumulo.' And we also learn that the compilers of Affatim and Ampl. II. did not take their Virgil items directly from the Virgil MS., but rather from a Virgil Glossary, or mere 'glossae collectae' compiled from its marginalia; for the fusion must have occurred in the common source of our two glossaries.

Now these Virgil items of Affatim and Ampl. II. are shared by the oldest English dictionary, the famous Corpus Glossary, though the Corpus compiler seems to have taken them directly from the MS. or at any rate from different 'glossae collectae' (e.g. *Iliacis campis* has no interpretation in Ampl. II., Aff.). He was more fastidious too in his selection; for from the many I-section Virgil items of Affatim already quoted only the following appear in Corpus (references are by the number of the item in the section): I 15 *Ictus: percussus*; I 18 *Id metuens: hoc timens*; I 51 *Iliacis campis: Troianis campis*; I 246 *In occasu[m]: in fine[m]*; I 276 *In breuia: <in> inaccessibilia*; I 277 *Incumbere: superruere*; I 279 *Incute: inmitte*.

Still these, its select items, have exactly the same form as the Affatim items; so they must come from the same marginalia. This Virgil MS. then was an English MS. and can hardly have been later than the seventh century. Its marginalia are the notes of an English editor, some monastery-teacher, and its peculiarities are therefore of interest to us.

Of its variant readings these may be mentioned: 'Ad terras concidit,' shared by Affatim and Ampl. II. (*Aen.* 5, 447 -am); Ampl. II. 286, 46 [D] *im<m>ensum inseuimus: id est immensuratum* suggests the 'Immensum . . . confecimus aequor' of *Geo.* 2, 541, and it is possible that a variant 'inseuimus' existed in the English MS. Since *Ructat: expromit, egerit* occurs in a Virgil cluster on p. 329 of Ampl. II., the English MS. probably read 'ructat' instead of 'eructat' at *Aen.* 6, 297. Another variant is apparent from the Corpus item (A 525) *Amello: proprium nomen loci*. The English MS. would seem to have read 'prato' for 'pratis' at *Geo.* 4, 271 (*est etiam flos in pratis cui nomen amello fecere agricolae*); and the editor, misled by the similarity of the cases, took 'Amello' to be the meadow's name. The Corpus item (N 196), *Numquam abero: numquam recedo*, is evidently from *Aen.* 2, 620 where we read 'nusquam.'

He was no geographical expert, as the following items serve to show: Corpus F 420 *Fucinus: flumen Italiae*, *Aen.* 7, 759; Ampl. II. 274, 46 *Cayster: fluuius Thraci<ae>*, *Geo.* 1, 384 -i; Ampl. II. 275, 11 *Ceraunia: nomen <in>sulae*, e.g. *Geo.* 1, 332. And his ignorance extends to Latin grammar. Corpus C 153 (cf. Affatim 491, 5; Ampl. II. 272, 63) *Cada: vas<a> uinaria* (*Aen.* 1, 195 -is) shows that he thought 'cada' the nominative plural of 'cadis'; Corpus G 139 *Gnossea (for -ia): nomen ciuitatis*, *Aen.* 6, 23, is the mistake of an adjective for a noun; Ampl. II. 266, 31 *Anienis: fluuius Italiae* (*Aen.* 7, 683 -em) is a genitive for a nominative case; Corpus P 417 *Pil[l]entes: bere* (Anglo-Saxon nom. plural, 'biers,' 'litters'),

Aen. 8, 666, is a second declension abl. plural mistaken for a third declension noun.

Corpus R 31 Radio is naïvely explained by the Anglo-Saxon 'gabulrond,' a pair of compasses. His annotation of *Ecl.* 3. 41, where he was misled by the word 'orbem,' had given a wrong meaning to 'radio.' Corpus T 156 T[h]essera: beeme (Anglo-Saxon for trumpet) looks like a plausible guess from the context at *Aen.* 7, 637 (it bello tessera signum), as does Ampl. II. 272, 64 Carbasus: tumor ueli a uento factus (*Aen.* 3, 357); while Corpus T 278 Tritonia: genus est ferri (for ferae) in mare (*Aen.* 2, 171) is not a very flattering description of the goddess. Sometimes he does not even take the help provided by the context, as is shown by the Corpus item S 683 Sulforia (for Sulphurea): sueflsueart (Anglo-Saxon 'sulphur-swarthy'), though Virgil says 'Sulphurea Nar albus aqua' (*Aen.* 7, 517). Luisata: genus armorum est (Ampl. II. 307, 11) has found its way into several derivative glossaries in this distorted form. It may, after all, be merely a Virgil gloss on 'Luis hasta,' *Aen.* 9, 576. The annotator thought that it was not merely 'a light spear' but actually a peculiar kind of spear. He did however know that Clotho (Ampl. II. 277, 60) was one of the Parcae, and that Aethon (Ampl. II. 262, 70) was the name of a horse in the Sun's chariot. Still, there is no trace of a use of learned scholia like those of Servius or Donatus. Nor is there any of the presence of the *App. Verg.* in the MS. We must not assign Stipendia: munera (Affatim 567, 44; Corpus S 491) to *Lydia* 13, unless it is an Abstrusa borrowing.

It should be remembered also, in forming an estimate of the value of this old annotator's work, that many of the ludicrous items of our glossaries are due not to him, but to the compilers and transcribers of the glossaries; and in this respect the compiler of Ampl. II. is a greater sinner than his Affatim brother. To his charge may be laid the comparison of Hercules to Samson which is, in Ampl. II. 300, 12, tacked on to the Abolita item (C.G.L. IV. 85, 50). In his anxiety to secure items for his glossary he often wilfully and more often stupidly recasts his material (e.g. Exciderant animo is made to furnish two more items Excidit: oblitus est, Excidi: oblitus sum). 'Alta mente' and 'Manet alta mente' must not therefore be taken for proof that two separate Virgil MSS. were used.

Each of the three compilers made his own selection from the mass; and by piecing together all the Virgil items, we should get a part, though probably not more than a part, of the whole notes. This article of course does not profess to have collected each and every Virgil item. Many may be disguised (e.g. Luisata) and others so fused with other glossary material as to be beyond recovery; but it is sufficient to have shown that in these glossaries there are distinct traces of an early English MS. of Virgil.

The Virgil borrowings under discussion differ from the Abolita Virgil items, as is evident from comparison with the latter (*Clas. Quart.* XII. 22 sqq. or with the *Glossae Vergilianae* (C.G.L. IV. 427-470) which are akin to Abolita.

One example will suffice: *Animis caelestibus* (Affatim 480, 19; Ampl. II. 226, 28) is explained from the English MS. 'mentibus diuinis,' while the Spanish (?) manuscript's marginal note was 'deorum numinibus' (C.G.L. IV. 429, 37). Items such as 'Ante malorum,' which has a common explanation in Affatim and the Virgil Glossary, are as likely to have been culled from Abolita as to owe their identity to chance. Our Virgil items are also distinct from the Abstrusa glosses of Virgil, as is shown by the item *Insignem pietate* (Affatim 527, 38; Ampl. II. 302, 10), explained 'praeclarum misericordia' in the English MS. and in the French (?) MS. 'ualde pium' (C.G.L. IV. 97, 48).

It would be gratifying if trace of an English edition of Terence could also be detected in these glossaries; but Professor Lindsay tells me the occasional Terence items of Ampl. II. are perhaps more likely to be Abolita items. Small Terence clusters are to be found here and there in Ampl. II., e.g. p. 320, 48 sqq. *Peropus est* (*Andr.* 265); *Percellit*; *Peniculum* (*Eun.* 777); *Pedisequus* (*Andr.* 123); *Perpera* <m> (*Phor.* 745); *Perfunctus* (*Hec.* 594). This suggests that 'percellit' was the reading in the MS. of Terence in some such line as *Andr.* 312 *percussit ilico animum*; but such discussion may well be reserved for another occasion.

N. F. G. DALL.

ST. ANDREWS.

PHAEDRIANA. ADDENDVM TO I.

V. x. 4:

aliquando obiectus hispidi pugnae suis
adriput aurem sed cariosis dentibus
praedam dimisit *hic tunc* uenator dolens
canem obiurgabat.

The MS. *hic tunc* of v. 6 has no friends. L. Mueller's *hoc tunc* is weak and flat, and L. Rank, *Mnemosyne* 40. 51, is justly dissatisfied with the *hietans* of M. Havet's larger and smaller editions, to which the *hians* of Verg. *Aen.* 12. 754 lends no sufficient support, as there the dog is opening its mouth *before* it bites. Add to this that it is by no means certain that Phaedrus would either have used the word or used it in the simple sense of opening the mouth. Rank's own proposal, '*heu*' *tunc*, fails also to carry conviction. There is however a word which belongs to our author's vocabulary (App. 23. 5) and is as near to the manuscripts as either of the above, and which hits the sense at which *hietans* aims. This is *victus*. The word is often used of the opened mouths of dogs, Lucr. 5. 1064, Ovid *Met.* 13. 568. Juvenal 10. 271 sq. 'canino | latrauit rictu,' and of other animals. That it is appropriate with *dimisit* 'let go' may be seen from the counterpart expression of Martial 1. 48. 1 'rictibus his tauros non eripuerunt magistri.'

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THE POSIDONIVS MYTH.

POSIDONIVS was fortunate to be born in an age when the Romans had begun to recognize their own intellectual limitations, and had turned for guidance to a hitherto despised nation, admitted by themselves to be as much their superior in originality as it was inferior to them in practical matters. He was, moreover, the official exponent of a philosophical system which, destined as it was to exercise for hundreds of years the strongest moral influence over the world, had already taken a firm hold on the more thoughtful minds at Rome. Probably any Greek teacher of ability had, in the time of Cicero, a good chance to make a name; Posidonius, who was a man of considerable intellectual gifts, great learning, and some originality, and who was, moreover, the accredited successor to Zeno and Chrysippus, obtained a reputation which lasted for some centuries.

His works having been lost and his name almost forgotten, he has been rediscovered by scholars of the present age, and raised again to a position of eminence. In thus exalting him they are, no doubt, following the judgement of the ancient authorities, but I must point out that practically all the evidence for his greatness as a philosopher comes to us at second hand, and though there is so considerable a weight of opinion in his favour that, in the absence of other data, we cannot dispute his claims, still the positive evidence is so scanty that we must beware of taking *ignotum pro magnifico* and assigning to him a fame which may be beyond his deserts.

A few of the chief incidents of his life may be mentioned, as they have some bearing on his attitude towards human affairs. Born (probably about 135 B.C.) at Apamea in Syria, he migrated to Rhodes, and, either there or at Athens, became a pupil of Panaetius, to the headship of whose school he eventually succeeded.¹ More consistent than Zeno, Chrysippus and Cleanthes, all of whom abstained from any direct share in politics, though advising others to take part in them, he played an active part in the public life of his adopted city, becoming prytanis² there, and being on one occasion sent to Rome with an embassy in the year of the last consulship of Marius, with whom he had an interview.³ At Rhodes he was visited by Pompey the Great, and we may suppose some intimacy between the two, since Posidonius composed a history of Pompey's wars.⁴ On the other hand he refused a request from Cicero, who had been his pupil for a time at Rhodes, that he should write a history of the

¹ Suidas.

² Strabo, VII. 316.

³ Plutarch, *Marius*, p. 432.

⁴ Strabo, XI. 752.

famous Consulship.⁵ A second visit to Rome, in 51 B.C., is recorded; this is the last known date in his life.⁶ Some time before this he had travelled in Spain.

The object of this paper is to make some attempt at investigating how far it is possible to reconstruct a philosophical system which may safely be ascribed to Posidonius by sifting the writings of his contemporaries and successors, and to point out some of the dangers which are likely to beset us if we theorize too freely on insufficient or inadequately established data.

It is safe to say that the influence of Posidonius on contemporary thought was considerable, but exactly how far it reached we cannot say. Cicero probably owed a great deal to him; he always mentions him with respect, and much matter in the *Tusculans* and elsewhere may have been derived from this source; but as Cicero, though avowedly an eclectic, often does not name his sources, and as, even when he does so, he sometimes misquotes or misunderstands, there is little hope of recovering much of Posidonius in an authentic form from his diffuse pages. Strabo, who was born a year or two before Posidonius died, quotes from him very frequently, but is chiefly concerned with his *Geographica* and kindred subjects. Seneca quotes him freely, regarding him as a standard authority, though one from whom he ventured often to differ; Pliny was familiar with his work; Sextus Empiricus and Diogenes Laertius have his name frequently on their pages. For Galen he is the greatest of all Stoics, and the famous medical writer devotes a long study to proving his superiority to others and in particular to Chrysippus. After the age of the Antonines references to him seem to be rare, though it is impossible to say how far his doctrines were unconsciously assimilated by later writers. Evidently either his personality or his teaching had made a great impression on his contemporaries, whose encomia are echoed by succeeding generations; and building on these facts, modern scholars have generally accepted his reputation as being beyond question. Thus Mr. Warde-Fowler tells us that he was the thinker who more than any other man dominated the world of thought in the first half of the last century B.C. and whose writings 'lie at the back of nearly all the serious Roman literature of his own and indeed of the following age.'⁷

But the exact extent of the debt of later philosophy to Posidonius has not yet been defined, for though much good work has been done, there is still a wide surface to traverse. Cicero in many passages admits or implies his indebtedness, and, working partly on this admission and partly by the collection of fragments from elsewhere, modern scholars have done a great deal towards tracing Cicero's philosophical opinions back to their sources. Thus Wendland has written on the origin of the *De natura deorum*, and finds there a large substratum of Posidonius; von Arnim, while in general agreement with the reality of these discoveries, is of opinion that though there is much of Posidonius in the book, Cicero also freely used a general epitome of Stoicism. Poppelreuter

⁵ *ad Att.* II. 1.

⁶ Suidas.

⁷ *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, p. 382.

has written on Posidonius as the source of the third and fourth books of the *Tusculans*, but on many points he has been opposed by Apelt and, as Schmekel thinks, refuted. von Arnim agrees with the latter view so far as to say that there are probably many sources. Traces of Posidonius are found by von Arnim in the *De divinatione*, Bk. I., and by Schmekel in *De republica*, Bks. I., II., while it is generally admitted that he inspired the *Somnium Scipionis*.

In contrast with the almost unanimous eulogy of the present age of critics, it may be well to refer to the very cold statements of Bouché-Leclercq (1879) a generation ago. 'Il répéta les assertions formulées avant lui dans l'école, et trouva même, dit-on, de nouvelles raisons pour justifier la mantique. Il est douteux toutefois que ses retouches aient amélioré la théorie Stoïcienne.'⁸ I am inclined to think that this critic was nearer to the truth. The recapitulation of only a few works on the subject indicates that while there is a general agreement that the influence of Posidonius can be traced in innumerable places in Cicero, in many particular instances the authorities disagree, and in the lack of a larger mass of certified authentic fragments, the exact limitation must remain a matter of opinion. Even the discovery of lost originals might not clear up everything, for in cases where Posidonius was in agreement with Chrysippus and others, it would be hard to say who was the immediate authority for Cicero.

The attempt to reconstruct from Cicero and others the hitherto missing parts of the system of Posidonius is a dangerous one. Take, for instance, the *De natura deorum*. If we could be sure that Balbus is quoting verbatim long passages from a lost treatise of Posidonius, we could almost reconstruct the work; but we cannot be absolutely certain either that Cicero here is drawing only on Posidonius, or, if he is, that he represents him quite correctly. A single discrepancy throws the whole under suspicion; thus in the *N.D.* Bk. II. §. 102 the moon is said to be 'maior quam dimidia pars terrae'; but Posidonius, as recorded by Stobaeus, said it was larger than the earth.⁹

Of other philosophical writers, Seneca is perhaps the one who came most fully under the influence which we are seeking to trace, but we can only rely on him where he acknowledges quotations, for he himself speaks of his familiarity with the works of Asclepiodotus, a disciple of Posidonius, and many things which we would fain ascribe to the master may be really attributable to the pupil, who may or may not have reproduced faithfully his teacher's views.¹⁰

But modern criticism, not content with tracing the influence of Posidonius on contemporary and later writers, has endeavoured to work back again in the other direction; to reconstruct, at any rate in outline, the lost works of Posidonius, and to argue that his supposed system contained this or that doctrine. Now in the first place it is open to doubt whether he really had a system of his own at all. It is quite reasonable, *a priori*, to suppose that, as

⁸ *Histoire de la Divination dans l'Antiquité*, vol. i., p. 68.

⁹ Stobaeus, *Ecl. Phys.* I. 27. 1.

¹⁰ Cf. Diels, *Doxog. Gr.* p. 19.

a professor of Stoicism, his chief philosophical work may have been to repeat and elucidate the teaching of his predecessors. I shall hope to show that for the most part he did so, and the fact that he criticized others and often dissented from their conclusions on particular points does not prove that he could offer instead a completely coherent system of his own which undertook to resolve all previous difficulties. But at this stage it may be to the point to give some examples of the constructive criticism now prevalent and to indicate my reasons for believing that it is unsound.

Professor Murray in his book on Greek Religion quotes from Pliny the words 'deus est mortali iuuare mortalem' as a phrase that is probably translated from Posidonius.¹¹ True, we know that Pliny was familiar with some of the works of Posidonius, though he seldom mentions him by name; but if we think of the numerous writings of other Stoics which, though lost to us, were accessible to an author of the first century A.D., it is a slight matter to find other names which might be proposed. The words might even be Pliny's own. It is one thing to discover stolen goods, another to restore them to the rightful owner; and in the present case it still has to be proved that the goods were stolen.

My second instance is more important, as it gives an example of reconstruction on a much larger scale.

Norden in his edition of *Aen.* VI. devotes a very considerable portion of his introduction to Posidonius, whose writings he considers to be the chief source of Virgil's eschatology. In two other authors, Cicero (especially *Somm. Scip.*) and Plutarch (*De gen. soc.* etc.), very close analogies are to be found to passages in which Virgil refers to the experience of the soul after death, its rewards and punishments and its purification from earthly stains.

1. Taking as his basis a known fragment of Posidonius preserved by Sext. Emp. IX. 71—*αἱ ψυχὰς πυρώδεις οὔσαι τὸν ὑπὸ σελήνην οἰκοῦσι τόπον*, etc., he points out that Plutarch probably borrowed from it when he wrote of the space between the earth and the moon as the habitation of disembodied souls. This probability may be granted, and Virgil's *aeris campi* may perhaps be referred to the same source.

He further believes that Cicero in *Tusc.* I. 42 borrowed from the same passage. But Cicero here is professedly quoting not from Posidonius but from Panaetius: 'Animus qui ex inflammata anima constat, ut potissimum uideri uideo Panaetio, superiora capessat necesse est,' etc. If Cicero is right, we must assume that the idea was not Posidonius' own, but was taken by him from his master. There is no proof that Posidonius is here talking of rewards and punishments in Hades, as Norden's argument assumes.

2. Virgil's phrase 'nouiens Styx interfusa coerces' is paralleled by Scipio's dream in which the speaker sees *nouem orbes* of which the fabric of the world is built up. Some vague analogy to the language of the passage in

¹¹ *Four Stages of Greek Religion*, p. 139.

general is also found in Plutarch *De gen. soc.* 591 A-C, and in the *Orphica* (fr. 156). The indebtedness of Plutarch to Posidonius in this context seems to be inferred on general grounds; not from the consideration of any particular known fragment, but because this treatise bears traces of Posidonius elsewhere. Nothing can be quoted directly from Posidonius which bears upon the subject, and the same general analogies are to be found in Plato (*Phaedo* 113).

3. 'Aliae panduntur inanes Suspensae ad uentos' (740-742) finds a parallel in Cicero *Tusc.* I. 42, which, as I have said, is doubtfully ascribed to Posidonius.

4. For the phrase 'Quisque suos patimur manes' Norden again adduces Plutarch (*De gen. soc.* 592 B-C), where every Soul receives castigation from its own δαίμων. This was probably suggested by Plato's phrase ὡς ἄρα τελευτήσαντα ἕκαστον ὁ ἑκάστου δαίμων, ὅσπερ ζῶντα εἵληχει, οὗτος ἄγειν ἐπιχειρεῖ εἰς δὴ τινα τόπον (*Phaedo* 107 D), and Norden plausibly suggests that Posidonius took from Plato the phrase τὸ μὴ κατὰ πᾶν ἔπεσθαι τῷ ἐν αὐτῷ δαίμονι.¹² But he makes the unwarranted assumption that it was from Posidonius and not from Plato that Plutarch borrowed, and for this I can see no justification. The passage is as follows: τὸ δὲ τῶν παθῶν αἴτιον, τούτεστι τῆς τε ἀνομολογίας καὶ τοῦ κακοδαίμονος βίου τὸ μὴ κατὰ πᾶν ἔπεσθαι τῷ ἐν αὐτῷ δαίμονι συγγενεῖ τε ὄντι καὶ τὴν ὁμοίαν φύσιν ἔχοντι τῷ τὸν ὅλον κόσμον διοικούντι, etc.

Posidonius has a verbal echo of Plato, but he is dealing with the cause and effect of the passions in this life only; he is not referring to eschatology at all. Moreover, none of the certified fragments of Posidonius deal with the life after death, except the one quoted above in (1) and the phrase in Cicero *De diu.* I. 64, 'quod plenus aer est immortalium animorum.' Norden has only demonstrated that Plutarch and Posidonius were both familiar with Plato, not that in this passage Plutarch was indebted to Posidonius.

5. The lines 'Inuentas aut qui uitam excoluere per artes' and 'Quique sui memores aliquos fecere merendo' are believed by Norden to have been suggested to Virgil by Posidonius, and certainly they could be constructed out of phrases taken from the description of the Golden Age given at some length by Seneca. But Lucretius, who, though forty years younger than Posidonius, died about the same time, has in Book V. many analogies to the language and ideas of Seneca. Cf. V. 1105 'ingenio qui praestabant et corde uigebant,' which may have been the source of Cicero's phrase 'qui praestanti ingenio uitam humanam excoluerunt' as well as of Virgil's famous line, though Norden derives it from Posidonius by comparison of the passage in Seneca. The great debt of Virgil to Lucretius has never, I believe, been questioned; and I do not see sufficient reason for repudiating it here. As to the second line: in *Somnium Scipionis*, which is deeply pervaded by Posidonius, we find 'omnibus qui patriam conseruauerunt certum esse in caelo definitum locum' (§ 13), and εὐεργετεῖν is the highest thing in Stoic popular morality. The inference of Norden is that both

¹² Galen, *de Hippocratis et Platonis placitis*, V. p. 449.

Cicero and Virgil took their sentences from some work of Posidonius, perhaps the *προτρεπτικός* (cf. Seneca *Ep.* 90. 5).

But I think that (a) much of Posidonius here is commonplace, being, as I have shown, easily paralleled from Lucretius, and (b) it surely requires no great originality to place in heaven the great benefactors of the human race, 'Such as did bear rule in their kingdoms, men renowned for their power, giving counsel by their understanding, and declaring prophecies.' To these, Jesus the Son of Sirach gives such immortality as he believes in, a good name through all generations.¹³ 'Pauci laeta arua tenemus' and the following lines find a parallel in Plut. *De def. or.* X. 415 B-C; the general idea comes from Plato (*Timaeus*, 42 B), but Norden points out that Virgil agrees with Plutarch in details which are not found in Plato. But so far as I know there is no reason for ascribing them to Posidonius either.

7. Heinze attributes to Posidonius the passage in *De gen. soc.* 590 F., where Timarchus hears *μυρίων κλαυθμὸν βρεφῶν* (cf. Virgil's 'uagitus infantum'): here again the general tone is Platonic, but as to Posidonius we have no data whatever.

8. Several other passages are similarly discussed, and Norden's conclusions are (i.) that the greater part of the story of the Soul's wanderings was taken by Cicero, Virgil, and Plutarch from Posidonius; (ii.) that the work of Posidonius from which they borrowed was of the nature of an Apocalypse; and, finally, (iii.) that this Apocalypse was arrayed by Posidonius in the form of a dream-vision. The cumulative argument is expressed with such convincing skill that it conveys the idea of extreme probability; but if we examine each detail carefully we find that the joints are weak; the connexion between Cicero, Virgil, and Plutarch, and their dependence upon some common original, is practically proved, but the arguments for connecting them with Posidonius are not beyond question, and we can certainly not go so far as to attempt to construct from them any of his lost work.¹⁴

I now come to the question of theology; and here it is necessary to examine the assertion that the philosophy of Posidonius was deeply pervaded with mysticism. The fact that he was by birth a Syrian has led critics to believe that he was thoroughly bound by the influences of his time and place; and as mysticism flourished in the East, he cannot have been free from it. The statement of his mysticism has been made in general terms by Wendland¹⁵ and Warde-Fowler,¹⁶ and they are followed without question by many scholars of lesser note, who are content to take their opinions on trust. The assertion has been more recently made, in fuller detail, by Cumont.

Though the Oriental influence may, no doubt, have been strong in Apamea, we know nothing of the course of school education there; but it is perhaps fair to assume that many years of study in grammar, mathematics, the physical

¹³ *Ecclesiasticus*, 44. 3-15.

¹⁴ I am relying throughout on the third edition of Norden (1903); I have not had access

to the new edition published in 1917.

¹⁵ *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur*, pp. 84, 85.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, 382-83; *Roman Ideas of Deity*, p. 58.

sciences, and dialectic were necessary as a preliminary training before a course of advanced philosophy could be begun. We have good reason for believing that Posidonius to some extent specialized on Geometry as a propaedeutic study, for his thorough training in that subject is emphasized by Galen as the chief basis of that scientific accuracy in which he surpassed other Stoics;¹⁷ and indeed a very considerable knowledge of mathematics must be assumed to account for his advanced study of Astronomy, whether the results which he proclaims were due to his own work or, as some think, a recapitulation of the work of Eratosthenes.¹⁸ Now we know that he studied something, presumably philosophy, under Panaetius, who died at Athens in 112 B.C. Posidonius, if we are right in believing that he was born in 135 B.C., was then twenty-three years old, so that he must have left his birthplace and to a great extent shaken off its influence during the years of early manhood—say at the age of nineteen or twenty—and that he never returned we know from Cicero, who mentions his name among those ‘qui semel egressi nunquam domum reuerterunt.’¹⁹ He therefore definitely removed himself from the sphere of Oriental influence just at the age when we might expect a youth to have finished his preliminary studies and to be ripe for higher instruction.

We turn now to Cumont. This great authority, whose inspiration is equal to his great erudition, deserves to be treated with the deepest respect, and his lectures on *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans* give a vivid impression of the religious beliefs of the Graeco-Roman world. Cumont is more concerned with describing current beliefs than in tracing those beliefs back to their authors. His point of view differs from ours in an important matter—he wishes to give a description of Stoicism and other creeds and to trace their influence on the development of religious ideas. It is of supreme importance to him to describe and explain these ideas, and in doing so he has attained great success, but it is of less importance to him to trace them back to their origin than to demonstrate that they were really current. Thus to some extent he gives play to his imagination, and even acknowledges that complete accuracy of divination is not his object by ascribing certain views at one time to Posidonius, at another, with a suggestive variation, to ‘a Posidonius,’²⁰ a phrase which, according to the ordinary use of language, must imply that inherent probability, rather than logical certainty, justifies the ascription of these theories to the author. In justification of my position of doubt I must be allowed to quote another case—perhaps an unimportant one, as it deals with a lesser detail of doctrine—in which Cumont finds something rather less than scientific accuracy enough for his own purposes. He quotes from Cleomedes the vehement polemic which Posidonius launches against Epicurus, ending with the words ‘to discover the real nature of things is not the part of men

¹⁷ Galen, *H. et P.* IX. 653.

¹⁸ Cf. Fr. Hultsch, *Posidonios über die Grösse der Sonne*, pp. 11-13.

¹⁹ Cicero, *Tusc.* V. 107.

²⁰ ‘Such are the sublime effusions in which the mystic eloquence of a Posidonius delights.’ *Op. cit.* p. 145.

devoted to pleasure, but of those whose virtuous character makes the good their ideal, and who do not prefer it to the comfort of their beloved flesh.'²¹ From internal evidence we see that this is very like the style of Posidonius. He accuses Epicurus of being blinder than a mole in astronomical matters; elsewhere he had used equally strong language against him for believing an 'old wives' tale,' and against his followers for their ignorance about the relations of Soul and Body²²; the statement of Cleomedes himself, if it is genuine (which Ziegler appears to disbelieve) gives partial, but only partial support. 'These studies do not contain the opinions of the author, but are gathered from various treatises both ancient and more recent; though most of the statements are taken from Posidonius.'²³ This reference to 'various treatises' contains an implicit warning, and the accuracy even of Cleomedes' transcriptions is not beyond question, since in the very first sentence of his book he quotes without acknowledgment half, but only half, of Posidonius' definition of the *Κόσμος*.

A few sentences from Cumont will further illustrate the kind of vague criticism to which I am referring. 'More of a theologian than a philosopher, in mind more learned than critical, he made all human knowledge conspire to the building up of a great system, the coping of which was enthusiastic adoration of the God who permeates the Universal organism. In this vast syncretism all superstitions, popular or sacerdotal, soothsayings, divination, magic, find their place and their justification; but above all it was due to him that astrology entered into a coherent explanation of the world. . . . Contemplation of heaven becomes a Communion. The desire which man feels to fix his eye upon the star-spangled vault is a divine passion which transports him. As men possessed, or as the Corybantes in the delirium of their orgies, he gives himself up to ecstasy, which frees him from the trammels of his flesh and lifts him, far above the mists of our atmosphere, into the serene regions where move the everlasting stars. . . . Then he partakes in the life of these luminous Gods. . . .'²⁴ Undoubtedly this is mysticism; but we have to ask to what extent it is Posidonius. Possibly there is something slightly mystical in his definition of the Universe: 'A system of heaven and earth and the creatures in them, or a system of Gods and men and the things which exist for their use.'²⁵ But this is really orthodox Stoicism. He is interested in theology, but there is no mysticism about it. He held that the whole Universe was a *ζῶον ἔμψυχον λογικόν*, but in this he was only following Zeno and others. He called the heavens the *ἡγεμονικόν* or guiding part, but in this he was no more a mystic than Cleanthes, who ascribed this function to the Sun. The *οὐσία θεοῦ* was to him the whole world including the heavens, whereas Boethus of Sidon found the essence of God in the sphere of the fixed stars. It is a spirit, rational and igneous, having no form but taking whatever shape it likes and assimilating itself to everything. God is in some sense personal, and has fore-

²¹ *Cycl. Theor.* II. 1. 89.

²² *Ibid.* II. 1. 89, cf. Strabo, III. 138; Achilles Tatius, *Isag.* 13.

²³ Cleomedes, *Cycl. Theor.* II. 7 *ad fin.*

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 84, 144-5.

²⁵ Diog. Laert. VII. 138.

thought for the world, but is not of human shape. That virtue is an attribute of God is implied by a passage which classes together the irrational, godless, and miserable elements in the Soul.²⁶ To be led by these, i.e. to follow the passions, is to live out of harmony. No modification of the Stoic views about the λόγος is to be found in Posidonius; indeed, I can only find one passage in which the λόγος is mentioned. Posidonius believed that the air is full of deathless spirits (δαίμονες) who probably are the Souls of the righteous, and take an interest in human affairs. This idea is very ancient; it occurs first in Hesiod, and was retained by the Pythagoreans and Heraclitus.

The importance of the tenet to us is that it implies a belief in the Soul's existence after death, which is strengthened by other passages, and by the indirect evidence of divination. We must believe in the possibility of divining if we believe that the world is governed by divine forethought, for divination then consists only in ascertaining the purpose of God.²⁷ Cicero quotes a story of divination by a dying man, to which he has led up by telling us that the soul can divine in sleep ('as Posidonius believed') because it is then comparatively free from the bodily element: 'quod multo magis faciet post mortem cum omnino corpore excesserit.'²⁸ Chrysippus believed also in evil spirits, whom the gods use as their executioners to punish the unjust and impious; the views of Posidonius are unknown, so that it is too much to speak, as Cumont does, of his having introduced Syrian demonology into Greece. Posidonius was undoubtedly interested in divination, and wrote five books on the subject; but I can find no reference to the astrological method. The nearest thing, at first sight, is Cicero's 'esse censet in natura signa quaedam rerum futurarum';²⁹ but this, as we find from the context, refers simply to physical phenomena from which we may predict the weather. For instance, inferences may be drawn from the appearance of the Dog-star at his rising.

Posidonius shared the common belief in auguries, e.g. from the entrails of slaughtered animals. He believed that 'uis quaedam sentiens atque diuina'³⁰ guided the sacrificer in his choice of a victim. Suidas and Eudocia refer to a Posidonius who wrote a treatise on τὸ παλμικὸν οἰώνισμα, i.e. divination from involuntary motions—e.g. the twitching of the eyelids, etc. This writer is generally regarded as distinct from the Stoic; but Strabo records an observation by Posidonius of a somewhat specialized experimental form of this same divination among the northern Celts, and on this ground I conceive that he may have been sufficiently interested in the subject to compose the monograph referred to: ἄνθρωπον κατεσπεισμένον παίσαντες εἰς νῶτον μαχαίρα ἐμαντεύοντο ἐκ τοῦ σφαδασμοῦ.³¹ From actual fragments, therefore, even if we include others ascribed by Sextus to the Stoics in general on the subject of the Soul's experience after death, we have practically no astrology and no mysticism worth mentioning; certainly there appears to be nothing that was not derived

²⁶ Galen, *de H. et P.* V. pp. 448-9.

²⁷ Diog. Laert. VII. 149; Cicero, *De diu.* I. 125.

²⁸ Cicero, *De diu.* I. 64.

²⁹ *Ibid.* I. 130.

³⁰ *Ibid.* II. 35.

³¹ Strabo, IV. 198.

from other Stoics or from Plato, and when we consider how much Posidonius might have taken from the *Timæus* we cannot fail to be surprised at his moderation. There is no trace of any stream of Asiatic influence such as Cumont describes. Undoubtedly Oriental ideas were spread through Greece and Italy in the early days of the Empire, and, to use Mr. Bevan's phrase, 'If we like to label this body of ideas Posidonius, in order to give it a distinctive name, it may be useful to do so.'³²

But the real Posidonius is not a mystic, but a practical man with some theological bias. He holds to the belief in the supremacy of the perfect wise man, but recognizes that such characters are few, and therefore the practical side of his character makes abundant concession for the ordinary mortal. Like Aristotle, but not like the Stoics, he allows the necessity of a certain amount of ἡ ἐκτὸς εὐημερία in order that a man may live a good life without distractions, and goes so far as to agree, in the words of the popular song, that wealth and health are the greatest of human blessings.³³ Even his wise man is human, and will find that virtue is not self-sufficient, ἀλλὰ χρεῖαν εἶναι ὑγιείας καὶ ἰσχύος καὶ χορηγίας.³⁴ He thus classed as good two things which regular Stoics put among the ἀδιάφορα, and further, by recognizing that wealth is a cause of evil (Seneca *Ep.* 87. 27), he allowed that a good thing could cause evil. This is quite heretical. The wise man, too, is allowed to pray to the gods, asking them for good things;³⁵ whereas the devout Cleanthes only prayed that he might willingly follow destiny, knowing that he could not change its course. Posidonius himself surveys the stars and sun, and computes their sizes and distances; he observes the tides, and notes the directions of the winds; but he does not ascribe divinity to the Ocean, though, from his experience of the tedium of a coasting voyage, he may have regarded the winds as devils;³⁶ and we need not believe that he really regarded astronomy as a mode of communion with God.

The foregoing sketch has perhaps shown something of the difficulties which may result from such hypothetical reasoning. Though we may draw a fancy portrait, we can never be sure that all the features are correct. Clearly we cannot be sure of reconstructing a whole system of philosophy by speculation, and it is not safe to ascribe to Posidonius anything for which we have not definite authority. For this we must go back to those writers who had his works, or at any rate epitomes of his works, before them; and our trouble is that the information which may be thus gathered is on most subjects very scanty, while on many important points we have no information at all. This is due to the nature of the authorities; not one of them is concerned to give us a conspectus of the system. There existed at one time, no doubt, various epitomes of his philosophy; in fact, Cicero refers to one very shortly after the philosopher's death; but each author refers to the views of Posidonius on such

³² Edwyn Bevan, *Stoics and Sceptics*, p. 96.

³³ Epiphan, *adv. Haeres.* III. 42.

³⁴ Diog. Laert. VII. 128, who says that Panaetius thought so too.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 124.

³⁶ Strabo III. 212.

subjects as are of interest to himself, and thus great gaps are left in our knowledge. As to the nature of his studies, we know that he was familiar with Plato, and wrote a commentary on the *Timaeus*, which from its exposition of the doctrine of the intelligent Universe was of supreme interest to the Stoic School. He understood the psychology of Aristotle and had carefully digested his *Meteorology* and other scientific treatises. The works of preceding Stoics, whom he freely criticized, were of course carefully studied by him. He wrote on subjects extending over a wide range—History, Geography, Meteorology, Theology, and Philosophy; and even composed a treatise on Tactics.³⁷

Posidonius regarded philosophy as a guide to life, and blamed the Cynics on the ground of their well-known ἐποχή (suspension of judgement), in which some Stoics followed them. We must not desist from philosophy, he thought, because that would mean abandoning rational life. The same importance is given to the practical side in the fanciful description of the Golden Age which we owe to Seneca.³⁸ Posidonius, with a reminiscence of Plato's prophecy that troubles will never cease till philosophers are kings, looks back to a Golden Age when philosophers were rulers of all; they governed mildly but firmly, protecting the weak from the aggression of the strong, and leading men on the road of progress. Thus, in sharp contrast to the Cynics, who regarded so-called civilization as an outcome of the corruption of the ages, he exalts philosophy as the originator of all these inventions which have contributed to material comfort. He quotes the great lawgivers of antiquity—Solon, Lycurgus, Zaleucus; all were philosophers. Those were philosophers again (*sapientes*) who turned their minds to the improvement of the conditions of life; who taught their fellows how to build houses, to work metals, to spin and to weave; to cultivate the land and to cook their food. All these inventions were due to philosophers, but the greater part of the practical detail, as being unworthy of their own activity, they delegated to their inferiors, devoting themselves to the inventions which should make the practice of the arts and handicrafts possible. Thus Anarcharsis invented the potter's wheel and Democritus discovered the principle of the arch; but we need not suppose that the former was a worker in clay or the latter a builder.

Without considering that Posidonius intended all that he says here to be regarded as literally true, we must consider the passage important as emphasizing the practical mission of Philosophy. Indeed to the Stoic, who was devoted to the task of dissolving the duality of mind and matter, and believed that all matter was permeated by intelligence, and thus God, Reason, and Nature were interchangeable terms, the connexion between Science and abstract Speculation must be closer than in any other system. Physics, Meteorology, Metaphysics, Theology, become parts of the same study, or different aspects of it. That at any rate might be regarded as a logical inference, and so far we may suppose him to have been working in support of Stoicism; though it is important to note that Posidonius, whom Galen calls the most

³⁷ For the list of his works see Bake, *Posidonii Rhodii Reliquiae Doctrinae*, 1812.

³⁸ *Ep.* 90.

scientific of the Stoics, aimed, so far as he could, at accuracy in material observations.³⁹ Thus there appears to have been a fable current in his time that a journey westward of a few hundred miles would bring you so near the Sun that you could actually hear it hissing as it sank each evening into the Ocean. To disprove this assertion he watched the sunset for thirty consecutive days while staying at Cadiz.⁴⁰ Other results of his scientific studies are curious. He constructed an orrery, in which the motions of the Sun and moon and five planets were reproduced.⁴¹ Further he speculated on the size of the earth, with somewhat remarkable results. Starting from observations which we know now to be inaccurate, that Rhodes and Alexandria were on the same meridian, and that the distance between them was 5,000 stades, and arguing from further observations that the distance between the two places was equivalent to $\frac{1}{8}$ of the earth's circumference, he arrived at 240,000 stades—say 24,000 miles—as the greatest circumference. Next, observing that the heavenly bodies appear the same size from whatever part of the earth they are seen, he infers that the size of the earth is insignificant as compared with that of the Universe, and with the distances of the heavenly bodies from the earth. From an apparently arbitrary assumption as to the Sun's distance, he infers that its diameter is 1,000 times that of the earth.⁴² He also believed that the atmosphere extended for a height of 40 stades from the earth's surface.⁴³

Thus, from very numerous quotations in Strabo and others, we gather that he was at any rate a scientist of very considerable repute.

But was Posidonius a Stoic? To investigate this question we must consider how far he was in agreement with the earlier heads of the School on cardinal points of Stoic doctrines. In many important matters we know from Diogenes and others that he did agree with Zeno, Cleanthes, and the majority of the great teachers; in other cases he is quoted as an exception. He was, undoubtedly, regarded by some writers as a heretic, and Galen is enthusiastic because he chose to abandon certain Stoic doctrines rather than the Truth. *A priori* we should expect some heresies from him, since he was a disciple of Panaetius, who himself at many points abandoned orthodoxy.⁴⁴ The chief subjects which it is necessary to consider as tests of orthodoxy are the nature and government of the Universe, the nature of the Soul, the criterion of Truth and the ethical ideal.

He agreed with other Stoics against the Epicureans that there is only one world, but appears to have been unorthodox in making the Void also finite.⁴⁵ In other matters he follows the accepted tradition. The Universe is to him, as to Zeno, a living, sentient, rational being, of which the 'principate' (*ἡγεμονικόν*) is the Heaven. It is governed *κατὰ νοῦν καὶ πρόνοιαν*, and Mind pervades every part, as the Soul does in us; but, as in our case too, not every part is

³⁹ Note that some Stoics considered such attention to practical details superfluous.

⁴⁰ Strabo, III. 138. ⁴¹ Cicero, *N.D.* II. 34.

⁴² Cleomedes, I. 10. 51 and II. 1. 79.

⁴³ Pliny, *N.H.* 2. 21.

⁴⁴ For the position of Panaetius and for the most thorough and consistent exposition of Stoicism in general I must refer to Professor Arnold's *Roman Stoicism*.

⁴⁵ Plutarch, *Plac.* II. 9.

equally pervaded; there are, in fact, gradations of mind.⁴⁶ It is stated by Schmekel (*Psych. d. mittl. Stoa*, pp. 9-10), whom Dr. Arnold follows (p. 104), that he developed a new theory of the Universe on Pythagorean principles, subordinating the dualism of Aristotle in a supreme monism; but I have noted many places in which Schmekel seems to have gone beyond his authority, and this statement appears to be based on the passage from the *Timaeus* commentary (see *infra*, note 53) dealing with vision—οὕτω καὶ ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις ὑπὸ συγγενοῦς ὀφείλει καταλαμβάνεσθαι τοῦ λόγου. ἦν δὲ ἀρχὴ τῆς τῶν ὅλων ὑποστάσεως ἀριθμός. διὸ καὶ ὁ κριτὴς τῶν πάντων λόγος, οὐκ ἀμέτοχος ὦν τῆς τούτου δυνάμεως, καλοῖτ' ἂν ἀριθμός (Sext. Emp. *Math.* VII. 93). This passage is on the right lines, but does not go far enough, and by itself does not justify Schmekel's assumption.

Everything happens according to Destiny (εἰμαρμένη), of which Posidonius endorsed the Stoic opinion, that it is an inevitable series (εἰρμός) of causes and effects.⁴⁷ In a passage of Plutarch⁴⁸ he appears to separate Zeus, Nature, and Destiny, but the three conceptions are very intimately connected, and the three are in reality only different aspects of the one. Fate is certainly the principle (λόγος) according to which the Universe is carried on its way; φύσις is this way; Zeus, or God, or Providence gives us a rather more personal conception of this Universal Law.

We know little of the views of Posidonius on the Criterion of Truth. Diogenes mentions, on the authority of Posidonius, that some older Stoics said it was ὀρθὸς λόγος (right reason);⁴⁹ but it is not there stated what he himself believed, and the passage quoted may be from a review and criticism of earlier beliefs; but the words κριτὴς τῶν πάντων λόγος in Sext. Emp. (quoted above) may be taken to imply his assent to this view. We find him again criticizing Chrysippus. 'We must ask Chrysippus,' says Galen, supporting the views of Posidonius against the former, 'why Pleasure and Pain each offer a persuasive impression (πιθανὴ φαντασία) that they are respectively good and evil.' The πιθανὴ φαντασία is evidently akin to the καταληπτικὴ φαντασία of orthodox Stoics, and is regarded by Posidonius as untrustworthy. The passage which follows is difficult and perhaps corrupt. 'Posidonius tries to show that the causes of all false conceptions (ὑπολήψεις) are in the "theoretic" faculty through the drag of the passions (διὰ τῆς παθητικῆς ὁρμῆς). This ὁλκή is directed by false opinions, when the reasoning faculty (λογιστικόν) has grown weak in the matter of judgement.'⁵⁰ The fact that here θεωρητικῶ (θεωρηματικῶ, L.) is apparently used in the sense of λογιστικῶ has led to a rewriting of the passage on the part of Pohlenz; but the text as it stands bases a wrong assent on a conflict between reason and passion, whereas in such cases orthodoxy postulates only a weakness of the will,⁵¹ and Posidonius definitely assigns a

⁴⁶ Diog. Laert. VII. 13-9.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 149.

⁴⁸ *Epit.* I. 29.

⁴⁹ Diog. Laert. VII. 54.

⁵⁰ Galen, *H. et P.* V. p. 441 (M).

⁵¹ Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, p. 133.

bodily origin to these passions.⁵² So far as we know, therefore, he was in conflict with received opinion about the Criterion.

It is not necessary to assume a dualism of mind and matter, though the sentence to which I have referred above might seem to imply it. Mind pervades every part in different degrees, but these 'parts' are not to be supposed to be of some altogether different substance.

There is some evidence that Posidonius held the view that like can only be apprehended by like; and therefore the nature of the Universe, being intelligent, is apprehended by Mind. It is true that in the passage quoted by Dr. Arnold (p. 134)⁵³ Posidonius is only named as adducing this theory from Plato, in his commentary on the *Timaeus*; but the fact that elsewhere he spoke of vision as a *σύμφυσις*,⁵⁴ i.e. an assimilation of the subject and object of vision to each other, makes it more than probable that he was, in his commentary, expressing his own views.

But in his treatment of the passions we find an undoubted dualism, for the irrational functions of the Soul are, as we shall see, as important in their effects upon human life as the rational element, and the two cannot be reconciled. We shall find him admitting and in fact insisting on a dualism which his predecessors in the Stoic chair had done their best to explain away.

In the department of Ethics he followed the authority of Chrysippus in recognizing the possibility of a progress towards virtue—*προκοπή εἰς ἀρετήν*. He thus agreed with the Socratics that virtue exists in our Souls, and can be drawn out and developed by proper training, but he was, I believe, original in stating that we all possess natural aptitudes not only for virtue but for vice also. This is proved by the fact that children, however carefully they are trained and shielded from evil influences from outside, will sometimes turn out badly, because they have this original sin or rather tendency to sin. We all possess the two tendencies (*ἀφορμαί*), and the one which is strongly developed may kill the other.⁵⁵ This has presumably happened in the case of the Wise man, in whom virtue has triumphed over vice. This is certainly not a Stoic theory.

In dealing with the *τέλος* of human life he gives us a somewhat broader treatment than other Stoics. The difference lies in the interpretation of *τὸ ὁμολογουμένως ζῆν*. 'Some,' he says, 'narrow the meaning of the phrase, making it identical with doing all that is possible *ἐνεκα τῶν πρώτων κατὰ φύσιν*' (i.e. to satisfy certain natural instincts which exist in us).⁵⁶ As Mr. Bevan has pointed out, the vagueness of the phrase *ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ζῆν* lent itself to a variety of interpretations, and the explanation given by Posidonius himself, though majestic, is still vague . . . *τὸ ζῆν θεωροῦντα τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀλήθειαν καὶ τάξιν καὶ συσκευάζοντα αὐτὴν κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν*, 'to live in the contemplation

⁵² Galen, *op. cit.* V. 442. αἱ τοῦ σώματος κράσεις οἰκείας αὐταῖς ἐργάζονται τὰς παθητικὰς κινήσεις.

⁵³ Sext. Emp. *Math.* VII. 93.

⁵⁴ Aetius, *Placita*, IV. 13. 3.

⁵⁵ Galen, *ὅτι ταῖς τοῦ σώματος κράσεσιν κ.τ.λ.* p. 78, § 8, and *H. et P.* V. 439; and Diog. Laert. VII. 91.

⁵⁶ Galen, *H. et P.* V. p. 450.

of the truth and orderliness of the Universe and helping to establish it to the best of our powers.'⁵⁷ This is, so far, thoroughly Stoic in spirit and is only a slight variant on the terminology of others; but his views are amplified and explained by the next clause—*κατὰ μηδὲν ἀγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀλόγου μέρους τῆς ψυχῆς*—a man may help to establish the order of the Universe by endeavouring to live in harmony with it, refusing to be misled by his passions, which are represented here as the unreasonable element in the Soul. This division of the Soul into reasonable and unreasonable elements can hardly be called Stoic.

His treatment of the passions was the most characteristic part of his work, and, with the exception of his Geography, the most important. While Chrysippus and others had tried to express everything in terms of reason, and thus were forced to describe the passions as judgements of the rational faculty, or, as Zeno puts it, if not judgements, yet something directly resulting from such judgements, he, to his great credit, as Galen is never tired of insisting, preferred truth to dogma, and went back to a study of the ancients, drawing from Plato the conception of the tripartite Soul or rather of the three faculties—*δυνάμεις*—of the Soul, *λογιστικόν*, *θυμοειδές*, and *ἐπιθυμητικόν*.⁵⁸ Herein he either ignored, or else completely failed to understand, the Stoic psychology.

He considered the question to be of extreme importance, as the study of the passions was closely connected with the study, not only of virtue and vice, but of the *τέλος*. 'The cause of the passions, that is to say, of unharmony and a life of misery, lies in not following in everything the daemon which is in us, who is akin and of like nature to him who controls the whole Universe, but in being led astray by the inferior and bestial element. Those who overlook this neither give a more satisfactory account of the origin of the passions nor do they think rightly about happiness and harmony: for they do not see that the first element in it is not to be led in any way by the irrational, miserable, and godless element of the Soul.'⁵⁹

The quotation is a striking one, as it seems to suggest a kind of a devil or evil spirit in man, the counterpart of the good daemon. The *δαίμων* is in accordance with Stoic tenets, but this other being is not. We may compare the teaching about the natural impulse to Vice (p. 192, *supra*), of which this may perhaps be only an allegory. And further, 'If the Soul contains only the rational faculty, without either the spirited or appetitive elements, the passions are abolished, and so likewise are all virtues except abstract wisdom.'⁶⁰ The only way out would be the Stoic way, to make *φρόνησις* include all other virtues; and this Posidonius does not allow. But Chrysippus, as Posidonius (or Galen) points out, actually contradicts himself, for, when asked how it is that the passions subside in the course of time, he can only answer that the judgement in course of time has weakened, and is actually forced to admit that ultimately the passions are irrational; in other words, reason is either irrational or pro-

⁵⁷ Clem. Alexandr. II, 21.

⁵⁸ Galen, *H. et P.* V. 461, etc.; IX. 653.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* V. 448.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* VII. 584.

duces irrational results.⁶¹ Posidonius closely follows Plato, even adopting from him the metaphor of the spirited horse which runs away but is eventually reduced to submission by the charioteer, Reason. But this consistency in one point leads him into a difficulty with a fundamental principle of his School, that the whole world is 'intelligent,' and therefore the Soul, which is something higher and finer than the body, should certainly be rational all through. However, the assumption which the Stoics made of degrees of fineness (speaking from the materialistic standpoint) in Body, Soul, God, and the Universe, allows him a means of escape. 'Intellect,' he says, 'pervades everything in the Universe, but not everything in the same degree. In some cases it is recognizable as mind, in others it is only *εἶς*'⁶² (i.e. the figure in inanimate objects); but these are two of the gradations of mind, which are numerous, and some are so far removed from it as to be unrecognizable. Thus the existence of non-intelligent elements in the Soul becomes possible, and the consistency of Posidonius is saved. In the end he perhaps meant very nearly the same thing that Chrysippus meant, but the difference in principle between the two is very great; a greater difference can hardly be conceived.

The results obtained may be thus summarized: Posidonius subscribed to many of the tenets and repeated many of the commonplaces of the Stoic School, but in some important matters he disagreed with the commonly accepted doctrines to such an extent that he cannot with justice be called a Stoic at all.

In particular his views about the nature of the soul and the origin and importance of the passions differed so widely from those of Chrysippus that he might almost be regarded as the head of an antagonistic sect. Though we find him orthodox in his belief in Providence and the rational government of the Universe, his treatment of the human soul involves a very distinct dualism in the conflict of Reason with un-Reason, and he also emphasizes the dualism of Soul and Body instead of being at pains to resolve it.

As to his positive teaching on the criterion of Truth we have, unfortunately, no clear record, though from the meagre remains that we possess he seems to have been in conflict with authority. On many points which, though of less importance than the cardinal doctrines just mentioned, require to be taken into account—for instance, the Unity of Knowledge and Virtue, the position of Prayer, and the sufficiency of Virtue, he was not orthodox. He was indeed a Professor of Philosophy and the head of the Stoic School; but while it was his business to expound the creed, he did not feel himself bound to refrain from criticizing it. I have endeavoured to show that we are not in a position to trace back to him any definite and coherent system; in the domain of Philosophy his function seems to have been rather critical than creative. He had strong interests which lay in other directions. He was a keen student of Astronomy, though we do not know whether he made original contributions to knowledge, or merely collected and elaborated the results attained by his predecessors. He

⁶¹ Galen, *H. et P.* IV. 362, 394.

⁶² Diog. Laert. VII. 138-9.

was certainly no mean authority on Geography, and his devotion to History was proved by the compilation of fifty consecutive books in addition to minor treatises.

I have only referred in passing to those portions of his studies which were not philosophical; other branches of his work have been treated by various authorities, notably W. Capelle, who in several articles contributed to *Hermes* speaks very highly of the physical investigations of Posidonius, whom he considers to be the greatest ancient authority on earthquakes.

We have no reason to suppose that public life was distasteful to him, and if he believed anything at all of what he preached about the practical side of the philosopher's services to mankind, he must have gladly shouldered such responsibility as the City thrust upon him. I believe that all his studies had their practical bearing, and for this reason, in addition to the complete lack of evidence on the other side, I cannot imagine that he was, as Cumont has endeavoured to prove, a Star-Dreamer or a Mystic; though the number of the titles of his works on religious subjects shows that Theology had for him more than a transient interest.

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PHAEDRIANA II (*Nouae Fabulae*).

CORRIGENDA.

Page 156. Fable IV, l. 1, for *sibi* read *huic*.

Page 157. Fable V, l. 5, for *multipli* *plenam* read *plenam multipli*.

Page 160. Fable VII, l. 3, for *legitimo sedit* read *sedit legitimo*.

The corresponding corrections should be made in the annotations.

NOTES ON THE *PEACE* OF ARISTOPHANES.

154-6 ἀλλ' ἄγε, Πήγασε, χώρει χαίρων,
χρυσοχάλινον πάταγον ψαλίων
διακινήσας φαιδροῖς ὥσιν.

There are two traditional renderings of φαιδροῖς ὥσιν, both specially invented for this occasion and both erroneous. The words are supposed to apply to a horse's ears, the ears of Pegasus, in fact, and the explanations are, (1) the popular one, *arrectis auribus, micans auribus*; (2) *blandis auribus, πραέσι, μὴ ὀρθοῖς* (Schol.), adopted by our most eminent Aristophanic scholar Mr. B. B. Rogers in his excellent edition and translation of this play. He translates 'with ears complacent.' Clearly there is a straining of language in these dealings with φαιδρός, and though it is true that Trygaeus addresses the big beetle on which he is mounted as 'my Pegasus,' 'my winged horse,' yet the animal he rides is not possessed of ears in our sense of the term bearing any resemblance to those of a horse.

On the other hand in Greek ὦτα, as is well known, was freely applied to various things more or less similar to ears, e.g. the handles of a cup (Hom. *Il.* XI. 633), of a cauldron (*Il.* XVIII. 378, etc.). Later Galen writes of the ὦτα καρδίας, 'the auricles of the heart.'

Here Aristophanes humorously makes his hero speak of the 'shining auricles' of the flying beetle, 'the ear-flaps,' as one might say, referring to the expanded shards or wing-cases, the ἔλντρα. These, though much shorter than the filmy wings, would project on each side of the coleopter's head like a huge pair of ears. Of course, like the rest of the beetle, the wing-cases are bright and shine with a metallic lustre (φαιδρά).

Naturalists seem to have thought that the hard elytra, when expanded, are of little or no use in flight, because they generally remain nearly motionless. The airman of the present day would hardly agree with this idea, for they evidently form the planes of the flying beetle machine.

It is not to be supposed that Aristophanes was aware of this; but his reference to the ear-like shards of the beetle shows how exact was his observation of nature and his notion that the clatter of the golden curbs was for the pleasure of the 'large fair' ears, that in reality possessed no more sense of hearing than the handles of a jug, is a laughable comic touch which the audience with the beetle before their eyes could not fail to appreciate.

416 ναὶ μὰ Δία. πρὸς ταῦτ', ὦ φίλ' Ἑρμῆ, ξύλλαβε
ἡμῖν προθύμως τήνδε καὶ ξυνέλκυσον.

I would suggest τήνδε κάξανέλκυσον. The ξυν- after ξύλλαβε is needless: ἐξάν- involves little more than the change of *υ* into *α*. A somewhat similar case of σύν wrongly introduced is probably to be seen in *Birds* 1696 τίς ὁ συγκαλυμμός; where most editors have admitted τίς οὐγκαλυμμός; a correction of Dawes.

It is surely hypercritical either to read τῶνδε (Meineke and others) for τήνδε, or to place a comma before it, or to change καί into δέ followed by ξυνανέλκυσον

(Dobree). The details of the rescue being not yet settled, it is quite permissible for Trygaeus to say 'Take hold of her with us and pull her up from below.' As a matter of fact Hermes does neither: he does nothing but superintend and shout 'Yo ho.' Compare the words of the chorus (429) a moment later,

ἄττα χρὴ ποιεῖν ἐφεστὼς φράζε δημιουργικῶς ·

491 οὐκ οὖν δεινὸν τοὺς μὲν τείνειν
τοὺς δ' ἀντισπᾶν . . .
πληγὰς λήψεσθ', ὠργεῖοι.

Such is the arrangement in nearly all the MSS. Bekker left the blank after δεινόν, and many suggestions have been made for filling up the gap there; but it is clearly better that the offence for which the Argives are threatened with a thrashing should be specifically mentioned. So we might read with some probability l. 492:

τοὺς δ' ἀντισπᾶν; ἀντισπῶντες.

The loss of the participle after ἀντισπᾶν would be a simple lipography. Otherwise many conjectures such as μηδὲν δρῶντες or κωλύοντες might be made. For the Argive attitude cf. 475-7.

605 πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ ταύτης ἡρξέτ' Φειδίας πράξας κακῶς ·

Hermes is giving a burlesque and novel account of the origin of the Peloponnesian war.

ταῦτα τοίνυν μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω 'γὼ πεπύσμην οὐδενός

says Trygaeus (615) and the chorus in reply makes the same admission:

οὐδ' ἔγωγε πλήν γε νυνί. . . πολλὰ γ' ἡμῶς λανθάνει.

Yet the facts are undisputed. Pheidias was badly treated (πράξας κακῶς) by the people whose city his art has immortalized. He was imprisoned and died in prison. Comic exaggeration makes Pheidias the prime cause of the war, the *fons et origo mali*, and it would be absurd to blame Aristophanes for ignoring other more material facts. At the same time he did not go to the extent of saying, as most of the editors following Seidler make him do, that Pheidias ἡρξεν αὐτῆς. On the contrary he represents him more truly as the victim of circumstances.

The MSS. read αὐτῆς ἡρξέ which Rogers is content to transpose, as recommended by Bentley, for the sake of the metre. Seidler's ἡρξεν αὐτῆς, as already stated, is most generally accepted. There are various other conjectures which I forbear to mention. The true reading must evidently be based on αὐτῆς ἡρξέ and not on ἡρξεν αὐτῆς, and I think it was almost certainly:

ἡτύχησε Φειδίας πράξας κακῶς ·

Graphical support need not be claimed to any considerable extent for ἡτύχησε, though six of its seven letters may be seen in αὐτῆς ἡρξέ, if required; and it is not improbable that it might become ἡτύχησε, which could not be maintained in face of πράξας κακῶς.

The main reason, however, for the loss of ἡτύχησε must have been ignorance or forgetfulness of its colloquial acceptance at the date of our play, B.C. 421, and afterwards. I translate the four words: 'Pheidias fared ill and got into trouble,' or more definitely, as we might say, 'fell into the hands of the police,' which is followed by the more general reflection πράξας κακῶς, our popular 'Hard lines.'

There are two passages in the speech of Demosthenes against Meidias which exhibit this euphemistic or polite use of ἀτυχέω and ἀτυχία for ἀτιμία and its corresponding verb.

(1) § 533 [58-9] Σαννίων ἐστὶ δί' που τις ὁ τοὺς τραγικοὺς χοροὺς διδάσκων· οὗτος ἀστρατείας ἦλ'ω καὶ κέχρηται συμφορᾷ. τοῦτον μετὰ τὴν ἀτυχίαν ταύτην ἐμισθώσατό τις. . . .

(2) § 533 [60] ἄλλος ἐστὶν Ἀριστείδης Οἰνητίδος φυλῆς ἡτυχηκῶς τι καὶ οὗτος τοιοῦτον.

The apology the orator makes for mentioning individual instances of ἀτιμία runs thus § 533 [58] παραιτήσομαι δ' ὑμᾶς μηδὲν ἀχθεσθῆναί μοι, ἐὰν ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς τινῶν γεγονόντων ὀνομαστὶ μνησθῶ.

1078 χ'ὴ κώδων ἀκαλανθὺς ἐπειγομένη τυφλὰ τίκτει.

Read κώδίνων—ἐπειγομένη, 'hurried in delivery'; compare ἐπειγόμενός περ ὁδοῖο (*Od.* I. 309), *Ἄρῃος (*Il.* XIX. 142).

1178 ἐγὼ δ' ἔστηκα λινοπτώμενος.

One letter and an apostrophe are missing here. Read ἔστηκ' ἀλαινοπτώμενος, 'looking wildly,' 'looking like a fool' (ἀλαίνω).

1306 (ἔργον ἐστὶ) . . . καὶ μὴ κενὰς παρέλκειν.

The explanation, 'not to tow home empties,' 'empty tubs' (ὀλκάδας), meaning in this case 'stomachs' (γαστέρας), is made practically certain by Eurip. *Cycl.* 505 sq.:

σκάφος, ὀλκάς ὥς, γεμισθεῖς
ποτὶ σέλημα γαστρὸς ἄκρας.

This same passage, moreover, directs us to the true meaning of another in the same play, 361 sq.:

μή μοι μὴ προδίδον·
μόνος μόνῳ κόμιζε πορθμίδος σκάφος.

Hermann's comment is as follows: '*ne mihi prode haec*: id est, fac ne frustra haec apparaverimus (They had been doing a little cooking): *solus soli tibi confer hunc celocem*: quod est, solus soli tibiingere quas nos aversamur carnes humanas.' Paley mentions other equally surprising versions which need not detain us. The chorus are not posing as cooks anxious that their culinary skill should be appreciated. They simply say: '*Do not, do not make me taste first! Attend solely to the hull of your own boat.*' In other words, 'Fill your own stomach: eat all this yourself. We are no cannibals, and don't want to be.'

T. L. AGAR.

MANCHESTER.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

American Journal of Philology. XXXIX. 1. 1918.

Walter Petersen, *Syncretism in the Indo-European Dative*. Having regard to the serious objections that may be urged both against a 'local' and a 'non-local' ('grammatical') origin of the dative, it is maintained that it is a blend of an originally suffixless case of the indirect object and certain local cases from which this borrowed its endings, in the singular from the locative and in the plural from the ablative, remnants of the suffixless datives being traceable in the declension of the personal pronouns. Examination of the dative of the indirect object shows that there is no fundamental difference between the dative and accusative of the object. The various usages of the dative are considered in detail with copious illustrations of the various Types. Type I. The primitive Dative of the secondary object, subdivided into 1. the Dative as secondary object in closer connexion with the Verb; 2. this Dative in looser connexion with the Verb, which includes the Dative of Advantage or Disadvantage with I. a Direct Object, II. an Accusative of Effect, III. an Internal Object (Cognate Acc.). G. L. Hendrickson, *An Epigram of Philodemus and two Latin Congeners*. Seeks to show that Anth. Pal. XI. 34 has inspired Anth. Lat. 458 and Horace *Odes* I. 38. The purport of this *Ode* as a finale to Book I. is considered, and pronounced to be the Horatian preference of simplicity to luxury of life. H. V. Canter, *Rhetorical Elements in Livy's Direct Speeches* (Part II.). Deals with Figures of Expression: Anaphora, Chiasmus, Paronomasia, Asyndeton, Polysyndeton. F. Warren Wright, *Oaths in the Greek Epistolographers*. Classification of the Oaths of the writers in Hercher's Collection, according to the deity invoked.

Atene e Roma. XX. Nos. 220-2. April-July, 1917.

N. Festa, *Studies in Sophocles*. I. Gives an analysis and criticisms of the *Oedipus Coloneus*. A. Calderini, *The Children of Antiquity*. Illustrates the life of children in antiquity chiefly from papyri.

XX. Nos. 226-8. October-December, 1917.

G. Pasquali, *Studies in the Attic Drama*. I. *On the Art of Menander*. A study of the ἑπιτρέποντες of Menander, showing that it presents not merely stock types of character and conventional situations, but essentially modern ethical problems and real studies of character. T. Tosi, *A Fragmentary Attic Cup with a Rape Scene*. Discusses an Attic cylix acquired from Castelgiorgio in 1907 by the Museo Archeologico of Florence, and attributes it from stylistic evidence to Brygos. G. Costa, *Blondes and Brunettes in Antiquity*. Draws attention to a recent work of A. Niceforo (*I Germani, Storia di un' idea e di una razza*. Rome, 1917), which combats the German theory of a superior blonde race, and emphasizes the importance of the study of the colouring of the peoples of antiquity. A. Grandis, *Mommsen's*

Verdict on the Literary Work of Cato. Insists, against Mommsen, on the essential originality of Cato's works and their independence of Greek influence, and after illustrating at length Mommsen's unfair depreciation of Italian literature both ancient and modern, concludes with a protest against Italian history made in Germany. P. Fabbri, *The Sepulchrum Joannis Pascoli of F. S. Alessio*. A translation of this poem into Italian verse. M. Tursini, *Polynices in the Oedipus Coloneus*. An appreciation of the poet's skill in exciting sympathy for the character of Polynices.

XXI. Nos. 229-231.

E. Pistelli: Editorial article on the completion of twenty years by this periodical and the society which publishes it. Defends the work and aims of the society from alleged misrepresentations by Professor Fraccaroli in his *L'Educazione Nazionale*. G. Pasquali, *Studies in the Attic Drama*. I. The Art of Menander (concluded). Concludes his discussion of the *Epitrepontes* of Menander, examining the characters of the slaves and the scenic technique, and comparing this play with the others recently discovered. Emphasizes the dramatist's interest in problems of social ethics, and holds that Terence selected only the most conventional of his plays, and therefore gives a wrong impression of his work. M. Quartana, *The Latin Ideal of Womanhood before the Empire*. Discusses the duties and characteristic virtues of the Roman maiden and matron, taking Horatia, Virginia and Lucretia as types of the one, and Cornelia of the other. G. Bellissima, *The Roman Sarcophagus of Belluno*. Describes a sarcophagus bearing an inscription of C. Flavius Hostilius and bas-reliefs of a boar hunt, which stands near the church of S. Stefano at Belluno, and suggests that it is the origin of a local legend which derives the name Belluno from Virunum and that in turn from 'uir unus,' a title said to have been given to a hunter who had delivered the neighbourhood from the ravages of a wild boar. The derivation is etymologically inadmissible, and it is noted that Pliny distinguishes clearly between Bellunum and Virunum.

Berliner philologische Wochenschrift. 1918.

Feb. 9. H. Diels, *Ein neues Fragment aus Antiphons Buch Über die Wahrheit; Ein epikureisches Fragment über Götterverehrung; Philodemos Über die Götter* (Philippson). O. Lautensach, *Grammatische Studien zu den attischen Tragikern und Komikern* (Wecklein). A. Goldmann, *Die Wiener Universität, 1519-1746* (Achelis). *E. Howald, *Zu Catull. 68a*. In 33, *munera et Musarum et Veneris* means 'erotic poetry,' cp. *Anthol.* ix. 187 and 513 where *Μούραι καὶ Χάριτες* is used similarly.

Feb. 16. P. Kägi, *Nachwirkungen der älteren griechischen Elegie in den Epigrammen der Anthologie* (Rossbach). O. Apelt, *Platons Gesetze* (Becher). E. Rosenberg, *Nachlese zur Erklärung der Oden des Horaz* (Linde). A. Blanchet, *Étude sur la décoration des édifices de la Gaule romaine* (Pagenstecher). *E. Loch, *Zur böotischen Grabschrift IG II., 1880*. Defends the reading *Μνῆμ' ἐπ' Ὀλιγείδαι . . . ἐπέθηκε*. The construction with *ἐπὶ*, instead of the simple dative, is characteristic of Boeotia and the neighbouring districts.

Feb. 23. M. Schuster, *Untersuchungen zu Plutarchs Dialog De sollertia animalium* (Bock). H. Röhl, *Die Satiren und Episteln des Horaz* (Rosenberg). M. Streck, *Seleucia und Ktesiphon* (Hartmann). A. Leitzmann, *Briefe aus dem Nachlass Wilhelm Wackernagels* (Achelis). *H. F. Müller, *Kritisches und Exegetisches zu Plotinos. VII.* *Th. Birt, I. *Vergil Bucol. 4, 62: qui non risere parentes*. Der Dichter versetzt sich in die Rolle der *nutrix*, die jetzt an das Bettchen tritt; daher das freie Latein, die Lizenz im Numerus; es ist rechtes Ammenlatein, Volkslatein, das wir hören: 'Nun fang an, kleiner Jung; da ist ja die Mutter: lache auf, indem du sie erkennst (lange

* Original communications are marked with an asterisk.

zehn Monate hat sie um dich Schmerzen gehabt); ja, fang an, kleiner Jung. Die Kinderchen, die nicht gleich, als wär' es ein Spass, gelacht haben beim Anblick der Eltern, so einen Jungen lädt kein Gott zu Tisch und keine Göttin lässt ihn in ihrem Bette schlafen.' Ist das nicht völlig angemessen? Quintilian zweifelte nicht.

Mar. 2. Aem. Issel, *Quaestiones Sextinae et Galenianae* (Kind). P. Thomsen, *Palästina und seine Kultur in fünf Jahrtausenden*. 2. A. (Beer). Th. Birt, *Die Germanen* (Btschofsky). *H. F. Müller, *Kritisches und Exegetisches zu Plotinos*. VIII. *Th. Birt, 2. *Zu Vergil, Aeneis I. 8: quo numine laeso*. 'Numen' is a modern word unknown to Plautus. Even Cicero has to explain it (*de Fin.* IV. 11) as the *vis* or *voluntas* of a god. A god can have more than one *voluntas*. Die Muse soll dem Dichter in Anbetroff Junos sagen, 'welches ihrer Interessen verletzt worden sei, oder worüber sie Schmerz empfinde': quodnam eius numinum laesum sit quidve doleat. So führt denn auch Servius zu *Aen.* I. 8 wirklich aus: *namque Iuno multa habet numina*; sie habe andere göttliche Interessen, sofern sie Juno Lucina, andere, sofern sie Juno regina heisst u. s. f.

Mar. 9. A. Kieseling, *Q. Horatius Flaccus*, erkl. von A. K. I. Odes and Epodes. Sixth edition, revised by R. Heinze (Schulze). I. An exhaustive review containing much original matter. Continued in the next number. *Fr. Walter, *Zu Tacitus und Seneca Rhetor*.

Mar. 16. J. Stenzel, *Studien zur Entwicklung der platonischen Dialektik von Sokrates zu Aristoteles (Arete und Diairesis)* (Steiner). *K. Preisendanz, *Anthol. Palat.* V. 154, 155 (Stadtm.). In 154 would read ἀντὸς ἐπλασεν (=ἐπλησεν) Ἔρως. In 155 defends χαλεποῖς as meaning 'dangerous eyes' which entice the lover to sail a stormy sea.

Mar. 30. Chr. Jensen, *Hyperidis orationes sex cum ceterarum fragmentis post Fridericum Blass papyris denuo collatis* ed. C. J. (Thalheim). Th. Schwab, *Alexander Numeniu* περὶ σχημάτων in seinem Verhältnis zu Kaikilos, Tiberios und seinen späteren Benützern (Lehnert). Fr. Vollmer, *Zur Geschichte des lateinischen Hexameters* (Berndt). J. Poppelreuter, *Modell des römischen Cöln* (Anthes). *C. Rüger, *Zu Demosthenes' Rede gegen Boiotos I.* Defends §§ 37-38 which were bracketed by Blass, but regards § 36 ἀνάγνωθι . . . ἔθετο as interpolated.

Apr. 6. C. Pascal, (i.) *Q. Valerii Carmina* rec. C. P.; (ii.) *Poeti e Personaggi Catulliani* (Werner). R. K. Hack, *The Doctrine of Literary Forms* (Tolkiehn). An attack upon Norden and others who consider Roman Literature to be a mere adaptation of Greek literary forms. The reviewer maintains that there has long been a revolt among German scholars against extremists who underrate the originality of Roman literature. E. Löwy, *Die griechische Plastik*. 2. A. (Sauer). *K. Mengis, *Ein altes Verzeichnis cyprianischer Schriften*. A list of Cyprian's writings contained in Codex Wirceburgensis theol. 145 (W in Hartel's edition).

Apr. 13. I. G. Kohl, *De Chozizontibus* (Eberhard). H. Patzig, *Die Städte Grossgermaniens bei Ptolemaeus und die heut entsprechenden Orte* (Philipp). C. Hauptmann, *Die Erdvermessung der Römer* (Philipp). *S. Reiter, *Vom 'Chef der Claque' Percennius*. P. was not leader of the 'claque' nor of the actors, but manager of the staff of workmen employed by the theatre.

Apr. 20. W. M. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae* (Mentz). The reviewer praises the industry with which L. has collected his material, but dissents from many of his conclusions. H. Kurfess, *Heidnisches Milieu in Augustins Bekenntnissen* (Thomsen). *A. Ludwich, *Nachlese zu Nonnos*. A continuation of the criticism of the text of Nonnos begun by L. in his Königsberg programmes of 1911 and 1913.

Apr. 27. M. Grabmann, *Forschungen über die lateinischen Aristotelesübersetzungen des 13 Jahrhunderts* (Lehmann). P. Thomsen, *Die römischen Meilensteine der Provinzen*

* Original communications are marked with an asterisk.

Syria, Arabia, und Palästina (Hartmann). P. Capelle, *De luna stellis lacteo orbe animarum sedibus* (Höfer). F. Stähelin, *Die Philister* (Thomsen). *Fr. Vogel, *Redende Namen bei Horaz*. V. discusses, among other names, 'Scaeva,' 'Mutus,' 'Novius.' He thinks that in *Serm.* I. 6. 120 Marsyas is a 'signum liberae civitatis' (*Serv.* ad *Aen.* III. 20), and as a type of the freeborn Roman cannot tolerate the son of Novius who is Horace himself, the son of a freedman.

Classical Philology. XIII. 2. 1918.

Henry W. Prescott, *The Antecedents of Hellenistic Comedy* (continued). On a close examination of details the evidence adduced by Leo for the Euripidean origin of the later Greek comedy shrinks considerably. Chas. Knapp, *A Phase of the Development of Prose Writing among the Romans*. The writer passes in review the styles of Cato the Censor, Cicero and Livy, Sallust and Tacitus. The nervous brevity of the old Roman was copied and exaggerated by the later writers. In contrast to this is the *copia* of Cicero and his 'one direct successor' Livy. Cicero's praise of Cato's style in the *Brutus* 63 sqq. is not to be pressed as if it were his own opinion. Tenney Frank, *Some Economic Data from C.I.L. Vol. XV*. Observations on the extent and scale of manufacture in various industries in the Augustan period, including pottery ('Arretine' ware), glassmaking, brickmaking, production of iron. The labour employed was usually that of slaves or freedmen. G. M. Calhoun, *διαμαρτυρία, παραγραφή and the Law of Archinus*. Previous to the archonship of Euclides a special plea could be entered by a defendant by incorporating it in his pleading (*ἀντιγραφή*) or by getting the magistrate to note it on the plaint (*παραγραφή*) or by putting forward a witness (*διαμαρτυρία*). *παραγραφή* was applied by Archinus to cases where the amnesty of 403 was in question, and later it superseded *ἀντιγραφή*. *διαμαρτυρία* was used in inheritance cases as there the right of action was not reposed in a single individual; elsewhere *παραγραφή* was preferred. H. M. Martin, *Remarks on the First Ode of Horace*. Horace is combating the view that 'poetry is the mere vapouring of clever idlers.' R. M. Jones, *Chalcidius and Neo-Platonism*. The author of the Latin commentary on the *Timaeus* owes little, if anything, to the theories of the neo-Platonists. Notes and Discussions. The date of Lysitheides' archonship is 265/4 (A. C. Johnson). In *Il.* 16. 826 *πολλὰ ἀσθμαίνοντα* should be interpreted 'despite his much panting resistance' (P. Shorey). In *Cic. De divinatione* 1. 80 *mentis* which follows *sensu* should be placed after *uis quaedam* (A. S. Pease).

Classical Weekly (New York). 1918.

March 4. E. H. Sturtevant contributes a review of 'Recent Literature on Comparative Philology,' in which he gives a brief account of the books and articles which have appeared in 1913 to 1917.

March 11. E. H. Sturtevant, *Linguistic Change: An Introduction to the Historical Study of Language* (G. M. Bolling). The book is primarily intended as a text-book for courses introductory to the scientific study of language. The subject is skilfully compressed into 185 pages.

March 18. R. W. Livingstone, *A Defence of Classical Education* (G. Lodge). 'As a reasonably full account of the advantages that should accrue from classical study it leaves little to be desired.' E. H. Dutton, *Studies in Greek Prepositional Phrases* (Sturtevant). These brief articles on a large number of phrases 'will be of value for the interpretation of Greek authors . . . but the classification of the material is not scientific.'

April 1. To this and the following number F. H. Fowler contributes a paper on 'The Latin Subjunctive of Determined Futurity.' J. T. Allen, *The First Year of*

* Original communications are marked with an asterisk.

Greek (J. I. Bennett). 'So interesting a first Greek book has not been seen since Salomon Reinach's *Eulalie*.

April 8. Rhys Carpenter, *The Ethics of Euripides* (W. K. Prentice). 'The main thesis of this interesting essay is that there is in all moral judgments expressed by Euripides an underlying ethical principle, which Euripides held in common with the Greeks of his time generally, namely, that whatever is in accordance with Nature is best, for man as well as for animals and plants.' R. M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* (D. M. Robinson). 'Mr. Dawkins takes his place at once with Hatzidakis and Thumb as one of the greatest authorities in the field of Modern Greek philology.'

April 15. J. M. Macgregor, *The Olynthiac Speeches of Demosthenes* (H. S. Scribner). 'The editor has shown skill in explaining obscurities.'

April 22. W. M. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae* (C. U. Clark). 'The most important discussion and tabulation of Latin abbreviations yet published . . . an indispensable handbook for all students of medieval history and literature, as well as of palaeography.' The reviewer contributes some additions and corrections.

Mnemosyne. XLVI. 1.

P. H. Damsté contributes notes, chiefly critical, suggested by the volume containing the *Tristia*, *Ibis*, *Epistulae ex Ponto*, etc., edited by Mr. S. G. Owen for the series of Oxford texts. J. L. V. Hartman has notes on Plato, *Republic* (continued from the previous number); F. Muller on Seneca, *Epistles* (based on Hense's second edition, 1914); W. Vollgraff a first instalment of notes on Sophocles, *Antigone*. A. W. Bijvanck gives reasons for identifying Arentsberg near Leiden with the ancient Forum Hadriani. J. J. Hartman, on Menander's *Hero*, discusses the bit of dialogue between Dauus and Geta, which appears thus in Koerte's edition Γ. τί τὰς τρίχας τίλλεις ἐπιστάς; τί στένεις; Δ. οἶμοι. Γ. τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ᾧ πονηρὲ σύ. H. points out that the special use of οἶμοι in Menander (found also in Sophocles) is to introduce a statement of something almost unspeakably horrible. Hence he would follow van Leeuwen in reading the rest of the line as a question, τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ᾧ πονηρὲ σύ; J. J. Hartman, *The First Elegy of Propertius*, discusses the lines 'At uos deductae quibus est fallacia lunae. . . . En aegedum dominae mentem conuertite nostrae.' The word *at* used to introduce solemn appeals is inconsistent with *fallacia*. Editors have altered *fallacia*; H. prefers to emend *at* to *aut*, the sense being 'ye workers of magic, change the heart of my mistress and I will believe in your power.' J. van Wageningen on Lucretius III. 232-240. In v. 240 MSS. give the unmeaning 'sensiferos motus quaedamque mente volutat.' Various corrections have been suggested. W. proposes an emendation which makes vv. 239, 240 read as follows: 'nil horum quoniam recipit mens posse creare sensiferos motus, quandoque elementa volutat,' i.e. since the mind, as often 'as it meditates upon the elements, does not admit. . . .

XLVI. 2.

J. C. Naber continues his studies in Roman Law in an article entitled *De Mensurae Generibus*. P. Groeneboom, *Varia* III., discusses difficulties in the text and interpretation of Herondas. W. Vollgraff continues his notes on Sophocles, *Antigone*. P. H. Damsté, *On Seneca's Phaedra*, attempts by a rearrangement of the verses of the messenger's speech to get rid of the confusion and disconnection which had led Leo to bracket vv. 1016 and 1022-24. He appends notes on other passages in the play. J. J. Hartman, *De Menandro et Terentio Disputatiuncula*, cites a number of instances in which Terence has improved on his original. A. G. Roos gives reasons for assigning the tablet recently discovered in Friesland (which formed the subject of an article in a recent number of *Mnemosyne*) to the reign of Tiberius. J. van Wageningen collects a large number of cases from Plautus and Terence where *hodie* means no more than

hercle. He thinks this use occurs also in later literature, citing Petronius, *Cena Trim.* 38; Verg. *Aen.* II. 670; *Ecl.* 3. 49; Hor. *Sat.* II. 7. 21; and finally Tertullian, *Apol.* II. 10. J. van Wageningen explains the obscure passage, Tertullian, *Apol.* VI. 4, 'cum mulieres usque adeo uino abstinerentur ut matronam ob resignatos cellae uinariae loculos sui inedia necarint' by citing Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* XIV. 13 (14), 89, which shows that the *loculi* were boxes in which the keys were deposited and which were then sealed up. F. Muller discusses the etymology of the words *Ῥηξήνωρ* and *ἱερόφωνος*. He argues that the former is to be connected with the root *reg-* seen in Latin *regere*, the latter with the root *aies-, ais-*. 'Radix nostra significabat "validum" unde "bonus, deus bonus" hinc, illinc "durum metallum" exstitit.' J. J. Hartman, *On Catullus* I. 8-10, bases his article on one by Professor Phillimore in the *Classical Review* XXX. pp. 186 sqq., in which he emends the lines thus: '*Quare, quicquid habetur, hoc libelli | Quaecumque mei, patrona uirgo, | Plus uno maneat perenne saeclo.*' H. accepts P.'s reading in the first line, but suggests for the second '*quaecumque, tuo, patrone, verbo.*' This suggestion, he finds, occurred independently in the seventh edition of Haupt's *Catullus, Propertius, Tibullus* (1912). H. Wagenvoort, *Quaestiunculae Annaeanae*, treats of (1) *ψόγος γήρως* in Seneca, (2) certain interpolations.

XLVI. 3.

K. Kuiper, *De Nonno Evangelii Johannei Interprete*. K. argues from internal evidence that Nonnus, the author of a metrical paraphrase of St. John's Gospel, is the same person as the author of the *Dionysiaca*. Not only are there many close parallels between the language and thought of the two poems, but the passages in the Gospel narrative which the author of the paraphrase has specially selected for amplification are those which bear a resemblance to Dionysiac legends, e.g. the miracle at Cana and the walking on the sea. The paraphrase has then a unique interest as the work of a pagan poet converted to Christianity. J. J. Hartman, *Κάθαρσις τῶν παθημάτων*. H. discusses difficulties in Aristotle's definition of tragedy. He proposes to emend the last clause to read thus: δι' ἐλέου καὶ φόβου καὶ τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων περαίνουσα τὴν κάθαρσιν. P. H. Damsté contributes emendations on Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus*; J. L. V. Hartman continues his notes on Plato's *Republic*. G. Piepers, *Unde Vergilius hauserit praecepta de re apiana*, concludes that Hyginus, not Varro, was the authority used by Virgil in *Georgic* IV. J. Berlage, *Ad Senecae* Epist. 27, argues for emending the passage in sect. 5 where S. speaks of Calvisius Sabinus forgetting the names of Achilles and Priam 'quos tam bene noverat quam paedagogos nostros novimus.' B. would read *paedagogi nostri* and omit *novimus*. F. Muller, *Ad Nemesianum*, supporting Enk's view (*Mnem.* 45, p. 53) that N was acquainted with the poem of Grattius, compares the verses of G. 'illius et manibus vires sit cura futuras | perpensare: levis deducet pondere fratres,' with N.'s 'pondere nam catuli poteris perpendere vires | corporibusque levis gravibus praeoscere cursu |.' In Grattius *levīs* is acc. plur., 'he will surpass (cf. Cicero's use of *deprimere*, *De Fin.* 91 sq.) his light brethren.' M. thinks that Nemesianus wrongly read *levīs* (nom. sing.) in Grattius. Hence his own lines which mean 'you will be able to estimate the strength of a puppy by its weight, and to prognosticate by the weight of their bodies those which will prove nimble in the race.' J. J. Hartman supplies some notes on Horace, Pindar, and Demosthenes.

Revue de Philologie. XLI. 4. 1917.

Max Niedermann, *Notes critiques sur la version latine du Περί ἀέρων, ὑδάτων, τόπων*. This version was first published by Kühlewein in 1905 from *Parisinus lat.* 7027 and *Ambrosianus* G 108 inf. fol. and subsequently by Gundermann in 1911 in Lietzmann's

series. N. proposes a large number of emendations in what still remains an exceedingly corrupt text. Max Niedermann, *Sur un prétendu fragment de Lucilius*. In *C.G.L.* v. 234. 1 *pistris belua maris lucius* 'pistrices' dixit pluraliter, *lucius* is not to be emended to *Lucilius* with Löwe, but means a 'pike.' N. thinks that some inland monk may have taken the pike as the best instance of a voracious fish. R. Cahen, *Remarques sur quelques passages du discours de Demosthène contre Leptines*. M. Jeanneret, *Index du Mémoire sur la langue des tablettes d'exécration latine*.

Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie. 1917.

Nov. 19 (double number). R. v. Pöhlmann, *Griechische Geschichte*. 5th ed. (Cauer). Excellent work. W. H. Duke, *Three Fragments of the περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πόλεων of Heracleides the Critic* (Kraener).

Dec. 3. L. Levi, *Interno al drama satirico* (Wagner). Attacks boldly the outstanding questions.

Dec. 10 (double number). O. Klotz, *Untersuchungen zu Euripides Ion* (Busche). Stimulating and helpful. F. Paulus, *Prosopographie der Beamten des Ἀρσινοίτης νόμος in der Zeit von Augustus bis auf Diokletian* (Zucker). T. Haussleiter, *Victorini episcopi Petavionensis opera*, rec. T. H. (Weyman).

Dec. 24. T. Kral, *Die griechische Rhythmik* (Svoboda). This work, published in the Czech language, is favourably reviewed. T. Schermann, *Frühchristliche Vorbereitungsgebete zur Taufe* (Koch).

1918. Jan. 7 (double number). A. Leal, *Studien zur ältern athenischen Verfassungsgeschichte* (Cauer). Clear and thoughtful.

Jan. 21 (double number). W. Ridgeway, *The Origin of Tragedy* (Wagner). Although many of R.'s assertions are disputable, the book deserves to be studied even in these times. W. Otto, *Alexander der Grosse* (Cauer). P. Kretschmer, *Neugriechische Märchen* (Kalitsunakis).

Feb. 4 (double number). T. H. van Haeringen, *De Augustini ante baptismum rusticantis operibus* (Weyman).

Feb. 18 (double number). E. Drerup, *Aus einer alten Advokatenrepublik; Demosthenes und seine Zeit* (Cauer). B. Keulen, *Studia ad arbitrium in Menandri Epitreponitibus exhibitum* (Schmidt). R. Wagner, 'Der dumme Kerl' nach Theophrast's Charakteren.

Mar. 4 (double number). W. Spiegelberg, *Der ägyptische Mythos vom Sonnenauge* (Wiedemann). A work full of initiative, enterprise, and interest.

Mar. 18 (double number). O. Körner, *Das homerische Tiersystem und seine Bedeutung für die zoologische Systematik des Aristoteles* (Harder). Interesting as these speculations are, the material is hardly sufficient to warrant definite conclusions. A. Walde, *Über älteste sprachliche Beziehungen zwischen Kelten und Italikern* (Wagner). Sound.

April 1. Joannes Sajdak, *De Gregorio Nazianzeno poetarum Christianorum fonte* (Koch). Careful and competent.

April 15. J. Basson, *De Cephala et Planude syllogisque minoribus* (Preisendanz). Many surprising and brilliant results.

April 29. W. Streitberg, *Geschichte der indogerman. Sprachwissenschaft*, II. 3. Slavisch, Litauisch, Albanisch (Wagner). Shows a grasp of what is essential, and gives an orderly picture of the progress of research.

May 13. F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen d. Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* (Drerup). N. Terzaghi, *Fabula: prolegomeni allo studio del teatro antico*. I. (Wagner). Full of suggestiveness.

May 27. K. Hauser, *Grammatik d. griechischen Inschriften Lykiens* (Helbing). Marks welcome progress.

June 10. O. Lautensack, *Grammatische Studien zu den attischen Tragikern und Komikern* (Helbing). The writer is well-equipped and most painstaking. B. Raabe, *De genetivo latino capita tria* (Id.). A careful study.

June 24. R. Huber, *Untersuchungen über den Sprachcharakter des griechischen Leviticus* (Helbing.) Serviceable. E. Drerup, *Die Griechen von heute* (Lamer). Praised.

July 8. A. Frickenhaus, *Die altgriechische Bühne* (Dörpfeld). Disapproved. H. Lehner, *Das Provinzialmuseum in Bonn*. II. Die römischen u. fränkischen Skulpturen (Ziehen). Deserves recognition.

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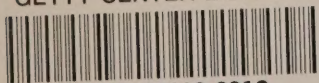
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